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THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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Joint Editors { VICTOR BRANFORD
ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON

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THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OBJECTS.

The Sociological Society was founded in 1904, with the object of promoting study and research in sociology, and for this purpose it seeks to co-operate with specialists and workers in all branches of the social sciences, and endeavours to afford a common ground on which they can meet and discuss the various aspects of social phenomena. The Society organises lectures, meetings and research groups with a view to carrying out this object.

MONTHLY MEETINGS.

THROUGHOUT the autumn, winter and spring terms monthly meetings are held, at which addresses are given, followed by discussions. Those who have addressed the Society's meetings during the past year include Mr. George Russell ("A.E.") (on "Ireland Past and Future"), Mr. G. K. Chesterton (on "The Return of the Guilds"), and Mr. Hilaire Belloc (on "Factors of Historical Changes of Society.")

COURSES OF LECTURES.

IN addition to the monthly meetings, courses of lectures on special aspects of sociological problems are given by those who have been engaged on research work. During the Autumn Term, 1921, Mr. Harold J. E. Peake has given a course on "The Evolution of the English Village Community."

RESEARCH GROUPS.

TWO Research Groups have been organised by the Sociological Society. One of these, under the chairmanship of Mr. Alexander Farquharson, is studying the works of the French School of Sociology, "La Science Sociale." The Group has completed a co-operative translation of Mons. Demolins' work, "Comment la Route crée le Type Social." The second Research Group, which has Social Psychology for its field (Chairman, Mr. A. F. Shand), is making a special study of the Family, from primitive to modern times. These Research Groups hold fortnightly meetings, for study and discussion.

THE CIVIC SURVEY COMMITTEE.

THE Civic Survey Committee of the Sociological Society has accumulated a valuable collection of maps and plans of cities and regions, with literature bearing on these, which can be consulted at Leplay House.

MEMBERSHIP AND ASSOCIATESHIP.

MEMBERSHIP and Associateship of the Sociological Society is open to all those interested in the aims of the Society. The annual subscription for membership is now £2 2s. 6d.

THE annual subscription for Associates is 10s. This subscription does not entitle Associates to become Members of the Society's Council, to vote at the business meetings, or to receive the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE headquarters of the Society are at Leplay House, 65, Belgrave Road, London, S.W. 1, where a Library and Reading Room are open to members.

ALL enquiries and applications for membership should be made to the Secretary, Miss D. C. Loch, at this address.

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FACTORS OF HISTORICAL CHANGES IN SOCIETY: by
Hilaire Belloc: being the substance of a paper read to the
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THERE have taken place in the History of Europe a certain small number of great changes in thought which have produced corresponding external results in the structure of society—we have had, for instance, the conversion of the Roman Empire; the Mohammedan heresy rapidly developing into something like a new religion and at last effecting a separate civilisation; the Reformation.

THERE have been a number of minor changes, of course, but we may take these great revolutions for a type of what we have to examine—What are the factors which combine to produce such transpositions in the mental attitude of our race, with their consequent vast and rapid changes in social structure?—the moment in which we live makes such a study of practical value, because it is clearly one in which a great change *may* come suddenly. And the more we understand the nature of such attempts, the more we can resist or advance them.

THERE would seem to be three main factors:—

1. The existence of an integral and convinced minority.
2. The capture of the Executive.
3. The solution of the strain, one way or the other, *after* the capture of the Executive, within the limits of a human lifetime.

It has been customary to look for the factors of change on the material side, but history does not support this attitude. Material conditions are predisposing conditions, and also, to use another metaphor, canalising conditions, *e.g.*, The black death made the Reformation possible. The campaigns of Alexander made the Christian religion ultimately possible. But the plain statement of all contemporaries in these great events is that a certain change took place in the human *mind* (and that each such a change was attempted by direct action upon the *mind* itself) and that it was by the change in the public *mind* that all was effected—the prime agent is the thinking human being within his limitations of 70 or 80 living and, at the most, 50 active, years.

THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN LINGUISTS

Objectives

The Society of American Linguists has as its main purpose the promotion of research and the exchange of views on all matters relating to the study of language and the teaching of languages in the United States and Canada.

Membership

There is no restriction on the admission of members to the Society. The Society is open to all persons who are interested in the study of language and the teaching of languages in the United States and Canada.

Constitution and By-Laws

The Constitution and By-Laws of the Society are contained in the *Journal of the Society of American Linguists*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1955.

Publications

The *Journal of the Society of American Linguists* is published quarterly. The *Journal* is the official publication of the Society. The *Journal* is published by the American Linguistic Society, Inc., 1000 North 17th Street, Suite 100, Arlington, Virginia 22209.

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IT has been customary to look for the factors of change on the material side, but history does not support this attitude. Material conditions are predisposing conditions, and also, to use another metaphor, canalising conditions, *e.g.*, The black death made the Reformation possible. The campaigns of Alexander made the Christian religion ultimately possible. But the plain statement of all contemporaries in these great events is that a certain change took place in the human *mind* (and that each such a change was attempted by direct action upon the *mind* itself) and that it was by the change in the public *mind* that all was effected—the prime agent is the thinking human being within his limitations of 70 or 80 living and, at the most, 50 active, years.

1. THE INTEGRAL MINORITY.

It is continually repeated that all great changes are effected by minorities. The thing is so necessarily true that it is a platitude—for obviously any new movement must begin in a minority, otherwise it would not be a new movement. For a movement merely to possess a minority is nothing. All movements whatsoever have that advantage, however mad or however futile. And the great movements which fail—for example, the attempt of the counter-reformation to reconquer German culture, or the attempt of the Early Reformers to change Europe as a *whole*, or the attempt of Collectivism within our own time—are under the same postulate here as the successful movements. It is not enough to have a minority. That minority must be (a) integral, (b) convinced.

THESE two characters are quite distinct.

(a) By an *integral* minority I mean a minority the members of which are devoted to the new conception *alone and don't* (as do the mass of men) *entertain it mixed with contradictories*.

It is essential to the understanding of any of the great historical changes to realise that the mass of men on hearing of a new conception, even if it be attractive to them and respond to some need of theirs or to some half-conscious conviction of theirs, do not *fully* adopt it. They may adopt it with the intelligence and not with the affections, or they may adopt it as something to be accepted were it put into practice, but not with the strain of attempting with a doubtful chance of success, or (and this is the most common case) they may adopt it side by side with absolutely contradictory propositions—this last, in the Reformation movement, was the attitude of the great mass of cultured men in the West. *E.g.*, they would adopt as Reformers authoritative dogma at the same time as the appeal to individual judgment, or, (on the other side) they would adopt the conception of perpetual examination and discussion side by side with the conception of a necessary authoritative universal church.

BUT a movement, if it is to succeed at all, must have some body, however small, of men in whom these contradictions or modifications do not exist in any determining degree. It must have a body, however small, which is devoted to one clear new principle *alone*, and does not allow anything to stand in the way of realising of that principle.

(b) Next, this minority must be *convinced*.

It is not at all the same thing to say that people are working enthusiastically for an end, and that they believe that end to be good or true. Men will work for an end because they think its results will be of material advantage to them; *e.g.*, the new Landlords of the Reformation in England; or because it employs their activity (*e.g.*, many of the soldiers of the French Revolution), or because it gives

employment to their intelligence and curiosity. (This last is probably true of most heresiarchs.) Or because they are merely *reacting* against something which the new movement must of its nature attack (thus much of the modern socialist movement depended on the support of men to whom Collectivism was somewhat repulsive but whose indignation against capitalism led them to its only apparent alternative).

So far as we can know the great changes of history, such support from men who were not primarily convinced, who were not the whole-hearted apostles of the new thing, however useful, has never been decisive. They have often formed the rank and file of the army, they have even been the auxiliaries at the decisive moment. But they have not been the life of the thing. Indeed, if it be true that great changes are from within it would be against the very nature of those changes that the ultimate directing power should come from anything but conviction.

2. THE MERE POSSESSION OF SUCH A CONVINCED AND INTEGRAL MINORITY OF A MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE IS BUT ONE FACTOR, WHICH IS USELESS WITHOUT THE SECOND—THE *Capture of the Executive*.

Our generation has lived—at any rate until the last few years—in a state of society in which the strength of the executive was masked. This is particularly the case in England where the aristocratic tradition, clothing itself in somewhat meaningless democratic terms, led all the past generation and most of the present generation to misunderstand the overwhelming importance of an Executive in any society.

THIS is not only true of highly organised societies, what we call societies of "high culture," or "civilisation," it is true also of the lowest tribe of savages. The excess of executive power—which we call "tyranny" (in the modern sense of the word, not the Greek) is far more common than its opposite. The reason is not far to seek. An executive is a necessity for mere human existence. Man must live in society and that which in the concrete, and in detail, and daily, executes the law is a master *without* which society cannot live, and *against* which the individual cannot live.

THE debates as to what form the executive should take to minister to human dignity and therefore to the good of the human soul are indifferent to the essential principle that some Executive there must be, and that this Executive is essential to any human social life at all. Now the Executive having this real power (whether masked as it was with us during the higher moments of the 19th century in the West, or appearing on the surface, as it does in the vast majority of times and places) is absolutely determinant in moments of change. Even those who may criticise my thesis of its power in most epochs must

admit that it is all important in times of revolution. For, in the nature of things, the mass of men are very indifferent and doubtful. Only that small convinced, integral minority is at work. *If it fail to capture the Executive it will fail altogether.* If it succeeds in capturing the Executive its chances of final success over the whole of society are much greater than its chances of failure.

GIVEN that the enthusiastic minority captures the Executive nothing can redress the balance save corporate action on the part of the mass, and corporate action on the part of the mass is exceedingly difficult of fulfilment, very rare in history, even when it exists spasmodic and ephemeral, and therefore even more rarely successful, *e.g.*, the reaction of the French population against the Reformers in the late 16th century. Here is an example often quoted of spontaneous corporate action. But what would have been the end of the movement had not the French Executive been upon the whole in favour of it? The same is true of the converse case in England. Had not the Executive been finally captured with the accession of Elizabeth what would the chances of the Reformation have been? I repeat and emphasize this point precisely because it has until lately been so much obscured in the liberal theories of the 19th century. There are many examples in history of even the capture of the Executive failing to effect a change: *e.g.*, the Iconoclasts and earlier the Arians in Constantinople. But the examples on the other side are much weightier, and that is why we often have a sort of instinct appearing in a great reform, a sub-conscious direction making at once for the Executive as its objective, *e.g.*, the conversion of the Barbarian Courts by the Roman missionaries.

3. THE FACTOR OF ONE HUMAN LIFE.

IF within one active human life, within one human memory, within (in the longest sense of the word) one generation of men, the new movement establishes itself it will (1) certainly remain much longer, (2) probably in connection with the Executive transform the whole of society within two or three more human lives.

BUT if it fail during one human life, if during one human memory the quarrel remain open and undecided, then there is nothing done.

THIS factor of the living human memory is neglected in history. It is exceedingly important. There is all the difference in the world between the active personal experience of a thing attacked and the name or label of it. Personal experience will produce a less violent reaction in those who hate the thing attacked than will the label of the thing, *e.g.*, the mass of Londoners (perhaps three-quarters or more) hated the Catholic Church much more under James II. than they did at the time of the Armada. Or again, your French of

the last generation hated the old régime more than did the republicans of the Revolution. The reason is not far to seek. The hatred of a thing known is the hatred of something which is in a way a part of oneself. That thing can be attacked, but in attacking it one mixes with it. But the hatred of a foreign thing produces an attack free from ambiguity. One full generation of men resisting the change is sufficient to produce, if the body they form is not too small a minority of the State, a tradition. One may use the metaphor of "rooting." A plant violently torn up or disturbed can be replanted, and whether the replanting will be successful depends in the case of each plant *upon a certain measure of time* during which it "strikes." In the case of human society that measure is a human life.

I MIGHT conclude by giving, as an excellent example, the failure through lack of one or more of these factors, of the great Collectivist movement of the 19th century. It had its convinced and integral minority, but (1) it did not capture the Executive, and (2) we see by this time, after a full lifetime of experience, that the memory of institutions inimical to Collectivism is too strong for it.

HILAIRE BELLOC.

LIFE-DOCTRINES IN CONFLICT*: by Victor Branford.

I. THE AWAKENING OF WAR.

THE open-air mode of social study is not, as those who have never systematically practised it fancifully think, merely observational. It is also, in a deep sense, introspective. And, moreover, for a good reason. The open-air student of sociology comes, sooner or later, to view the world-without and the world-within as an interlinked pair. He sees them as the unfolding and development of a flower-bud; in which what was internal in the bud becomes external in the flower; and then, what is often most conspicuously external in the flower (like the golden dust of the lily's stamens) reverses its rôle, and proceeds to grow inwards, penetrating even to inmost recesses of the flower's substance. So it is in the more complex life we call human. What engages the interest and fixes the attention, in open-air studies sociological, is an interplay of outer and inner, a cycle of the objective and the subjective in process of continuous interchange. So does it come about that sustained alternation of outlook and inlook give to the Regional Survey its dominant characteristic. Thus does a walk of observation, from source to sea, down any representative river-valley, taken as sample of our occidental civilisation, become also, and of necessity, a research in valuation, an endeavour after interpretation. In the measure that he has done his work well, the itinerant student carries away, in memory, general impressions which impart unity to a mass of detail. And this oneness, being derived from life direct, exhibits the qualities of the real and the ideal. In a word, the generality, so won, is an abstract of the concrete.

RECALL, then, in outline, the mode of investigation, and its gains. A vigilant outlook shows the interplay of two Great Unities. There is first the unity of forces which dominates the rustic process of Place, Work, Folk. This great unity of Nature and the Nature-folk exhibits, as it were, the outside of things ultimate. Next a penetrative inlook discovers the insignia of the other Great Unity. It is seen as the complement and supplement of the first. It reveals the inside if not of things ultimate, yet of things penultimate. It operates through the civic process. There is thus liberated a spirit creative which transforms folk into Polity, work into Synergy, place into Art. This creative spirit is humanity itself, conjoined in a fertile union with nature. The condition of fertility is an awakening of man to a vision of fulfilment latent in the deeps of life, and evocable therefrom. But

*In continuation of papers in the July and October numbers of the REVIEW.

a tendency to spiritual torpor, in the body of citizens, constantly frustrates this purpose of humanity and intention of nature. Both city and citizen are then observed to suffer something more than arrest.

THE Regional Survey recommends itself by two definite qualities. As a mode of study, it sees and seeks reality by direct approach. It brings all the main branches of science into play, and focuses them upon a living complex of man and his milieu; it therefore can be made to exhibit a conspectus of the systematic, verified, communicable, ever-growing, body of knowledge called science. As a practice of life, it is an exercise in the scale of ascending awareness, whose emotion at its intensest is sanctity. These two services it renders by developing a habit of balanced alternation between outlook upon the working of the world, and inlook upon the modes of spirit. Used rightly, it shows all things, all processes, in a vital perspective; it shows them as at once, symbols of grace and instruments of power, in the partnered rhythm of the two Great Unities, Man and Nature. The Regional Survey, therefore, claims a place, modest but secure, within the liturgical office of spiritual arousal.

THIS mode of observation and research will be recognised as an endeavour to do, in the orderly and thorough-going way of science, what we all do, more or less, and anyhow. But more or less, and anyhow, are modes of life that have lapsed from the eager resolve of childhood, to experience, to explore, to act. Life at the full means a harmony and poise of the desire to feel, the impulse to know, the will to act. Weaken any one of these three vital factors, and the other two suffer, either by over-emphasis through exaggerated functioning, or by lack of purpose to function at all. In either case, there results a lowering or loss of joyous mastery in living. We have exchanged childhood's close touch with environment, for the fitful hold and feeble grip that betoken waning powers. And an inner symptom of the consequent all-round decay is this—that chill abstractions replace the warm imagery of vision in the furniture of our minds. We fall into a state of moral torpor and mental incuria.

SOMETHING catastrophic or brobdingnagian is seemingly needed to awaken a community fixed in the habits of anyhow and more or less. And even then, when the first spurt of excitement is exhausted, how quickly is the sleeper's nightcap pulled over drooping eyelids. The brief re-awakening of a community to vigour of life affirmative, and subsequent relapse to a comatose condition, is well illustrated by comparing the state of things in the Avon (or any other) valley, before, during, and after, the war. The old port-city of Christchurch, for instance, experienced, at the outbreak of the war, a lifting of the heart which aroused it for one splendid moment, from a slumber of generations. It was the same all up and down the Avon valley from Wooton

Rivers to Mudeford. Eyes that had been holden were opened. In a flash of illumination they discerned, through the mists of modernity, that moving pillar of fire which is ever visible to prophet eyes. The sight stirred, if not to a vision, yet to an impelling emotion, of life abundant. But, alas, it is the penalty of postponement in spiritual awakening till maturity, that when the inner voice speaks, its accompaniment of emotion and imagery is, almost to a certainty, either vague or illusory. A prolonged preparation, as of survey for service, is the indispensable prerequisite to vision of the future that can be made to come true.

THE war-time visitor to that ancient Priory of Christchurch, where Avon river meets and mingles with the sea, found the edifice vibrant with a living message. It suggested possibilities for a new Restoration of our old Cathedral—but now to civic use and activity. Over the high altar of the Priory Church was displayed a grouping of all the allied flags; and a radiance as of sanctity seemed to issue from this blending of spiritual symbols with temporal emblems, selected on a basis of wide-ranging human values. The inner life and the outer world were felt to be in accord, because a purpose deemed sacred was imparted to the material energies at life's control. But the transcendence did not stop there. Its reach went far beyond the narrower limits of the local life. It portended that the rustic life of the region, with its folk and their familiar tasks, had been caught up and lifted into the larger play of world-movements; and, in such wise, that the elemental occupations up and down the Avon valley acquired each of them a creative rôle. It meant that regional culture and world civilization were for the moment at one in making the most of life, through deepening and enlarging accord of personality and community.

AND that the adjustments, thus sanctioned on the high altar of the Priory Church, had reality, may be confirmed by recalling the situation of things as they were in 1914-15—that brief wonder-year of the war. There occurred then a remarkable reduction in acquisitiveness of impulse, in distinctions of class, in ambitions of individuals, in rapacities of business, in animosities of sects, in chicanery of parties, in rivalries of Capital, in jealousies of Labour. In many cases all these defects of the body politic were transmuted to their opposites; hence was generated a rich crop of generosities, enthusiasms, heroisms. Most minor interests for a time gave way and subordinated themselves to one supreme purpose, held with religious conviction, to be a grand and noble adventure. An ideal of personal service in a communitary cause had been awakened in individual minds, and it elicited a passionate energy. Multitudes experienced the rapture of a union with the spirit of community. They were touched by the radiance of a vision that makes labour sacred and counts sacrifice a joy. There resulted a

working together of occupations, trades, professions, classes, which so far abated habitual waste and eliminated customary frictions, that the collective effort of the community approached in efficiency, and resembled in kind, the synergy of a regiment in action. Similar transformations were wrought in each of the other nations, and directed to the same general objective. Thus abroad and at home within the range of the Grand Alliance, the old Politics of masked Predation was replaced by a new Polity of open Purpose. A certain serenity of bearing observable at that moment, in many men and women of all classes, betokened a harmony of soul customarily associated with "religious conversion." The community had for a moment regained the secret of vital organization.

THIS quickening of life, and dignifying of service, that flamed throughout the allied peoples, in the first phase of the war, were the manifest realities, which gave meaning to the symbols of temporal and spiritual unity, unwontedly displayed in conjunction upon the altar of the old Priory Church. The removal of the temporal symbols, at the close of the war, left that sanctuary with a distressing void in its contact with the secular world. The bond, which in 1914-15 for a moment linked the outer and the inner life, unified the rustic and the civic process, and bound the regional community to the larger civilization of the world, weakened as the war went on, and snapped at its close. The manifold ills of the pre-war community broke out afresh, many of them exaggerated by the special evils of the war and its sequel of poverties, diseases, follies, crimes, and vices. From the temporary sacring of life at the outbreak of war, there seemed to set in, at its close, a reversion to tendencies that make for the degradation, even the desecration, of the lives of the people at large.

THAT particular declension of sanctity did but continue the downward movement, in religious values, which has, during the past three centuries or more, run a strange course of parallelism with the rise of "modern democracy." Other simultaneous movements help to explain this enigma. Coincidentally have arisen the Machine Industry with its Pecuniary Culture; also a Politics, machiavellian at home, expansionist abroad. The simultaneous "spiritual" movements have been the replacing of Theology by metaphysical philosophy and its descendants Utilitarianism and Political Economy, as the main speculative media; and the rise of Modern Science. But it is to be remarked that in this connection "modern science" has a very definite meaning, perhaps insufficiently recognised. It means, first of all, Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry, with their numerous and growing specialisms; next a Biology of Nature "red in tooth and claw"; an Anthropology of "race"; and finally a Psychology which, till but recently, was little more than a physiology of sensory stimulus and nervous or cerebral reaction. In a word it means the lower

sciences. It is clear that this "modern science" is primarily a science of the external environment and its dominance over life. It follows that the life-theory of these lower sciences (so far as they had one) presented an inevitable antagonism to the life-doctrine of theology, which, based on the life-sanctities of the old cloister, necessarily affirmed the primacy of inner aspirations. The exhortation of religion, to seek first the ideal, stood in sharpening contrast to the imperatives of "science," as these issued successively, first from the laboratory-cloisters of physics and chemistry, then from the closets of "biology," anthropology and "psychology." Multiply to the utmost the machinery of exploitation; compete ruthlessly in the struggle for life; "administer" rigorously the "lower races"; speed up the reaction-times of Labour; these are the respective imperatives, expressed or implied, of the four great orders of "modern science." To this tetralogue of the lower sciences, modern man has rendered sincere, if unavowed, homage.

II. THE ADVANCE OF HUMANIST SCIENCE.

IN the application of these lower sciences to industry and business, to education at all its levels, to national life and imperial policy, the Government of Germany easily outdistanced all other States. Their better preparation for war, their seizure of the "psychological moment" (a tell-tale phrase) for its declaration and outbreak, were but instances of a general superiority in this order of things. But their opening move, the invasion of unoffending Belgium, revealed, in a flash, to their enemies, the impending menace to humanity. In that moment of insight there dawned, for the allies, the vision of a better world, which raised the contest into what was for them, at their best, a veritable crusade. That this inspiration waned as the war went on is, in the first instance, doubtless to be explained in terms of the above-mentioned tendencies, which some regard as reversionary and others as progressive. The inspiring impulse revived when President Wilson brought, to the Peace Table, his ideal of a League of Nations. It seemingly evaporated on the subsequent relapse to an after-war economics, which renewed old impulses to exploitation, and a politics oblivious of the war's moral lessons.

THIS apparent re-enthronement of the lower sciences, and their associated doctrines and policies, in the seats of authority, doubtless bears witness alike to the present immaturity of the higher sciences, and to the inadequacy, as yet, of all other sources, whence might issue a finer and more compelling vision of life. To say nothing of theology and philosophy, it has to be admitted that a genuine psychology of the inner life, and an evolutionary ethics and æsthetics, are but sciences in the making; and remote therefore may seem a synthetic sociology

to co-ordinate these three more subjective sciences, and integrate them with the more objective knowledges of anthropology, economics, and geography.

BUT forget not that very young are these incipient humanist sciences in their modern form, though, in historic origins, dating back to classical antiquity. Moreover they are severely handicapped by inheritance of an evolutionary doctrine that came to them weighted with mechanistic bias. But slowly and surely they are building up an evolutionary life-theory, which, while incorporating the verified knowledge of the more external biology, anthropology, and psychology, exhibits an increasing efficiency in interpreting the experiences of the religious consciousness, and the data of the creative imagination.

FOR long also the humanist sciences lacked a method of observation and research, which, though congruent with those of the naturalist sciences, yet was adapted factually to investigate the phenomena of the inner life and its expressions and creations. This methodological deficiency is being gradually, slowly, fitfully, made good. And amongst recent advances in this direction most notable perhaps is the synthetic method of Regional Survey. The slight sketch we have given of its mode in actual operation, cannot of course be expected to carry conviction to those unacquainted with its services to social science. Such services, moreover, it has to be admitted, are more prospective than actual. And slow, hitherto, has been the rate of progress in the development of scientific method. There persists, in the mind of scientists and philosophers, more than they admit, of the folk-mind's stubborn resistance to change. Measures of velocity in the re-adjustment of the folk-mind are not wanting. It took, for instance, more than a hundred years for the Revised Version of the Bible to forge its way into popular use. And this illustration is more than incidental. It may be used also as a gauge of cultural progress.

THERE is an intimate association between social science and the purifying of those sacred texts of antiquity, which searchingly illumine the inner life. To correlate the outlook of the former, with the inlook of the latter, is a problem within the larger issue of a general adjustment between "facts" and "values," or as we prefer to put it, the correlation of knowledge and reverence, of power and grace, of science and sanctity. To accelerate the speed of social science is needed a method which works towards an automatic, instinctive, or self-regulating, adaptation between outlook and inlook. And if the regional method is not well adjusted to this scientific labour, a better means to that end has to be sought. The aim in full extent is nothing less than to discover the best kind of apprenticeship to the visioning process. How to enable each individual of the oncoming generation to cast the horoscope of his life as the spiritual orrery of the race

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suggests? How may every youth, and maid, at the dawn of adolescence, be put in a position to guide their life-impulse to fulfilment, in the light of past beacons in the tortuous ascent of humanity up the mount of vision?

THESE are ways of asking what clear outline of an unfolding purpose can be discerned in the age-long drama of man's visioning. Such answer as the scientist can, as yet, give in his own way and his own terms, manifestly belongs to his problem and task of adjustment between outer and inner. Let us try to sketch the present view of science (so far as it has one), in this central field of experience and aspiration, which links history with prehistory, both with contemporary life, and therefore all three with the incipient future.* The higher sciences may expect to achieve authority, when they can offer to mankind verifiable guidance to life-abundant.

VICTOR BRANFORD.

*An outline sketch entitled MYTH, MAGIC AND VISION, will be published in the next number of the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

REGIONAL AND VOCATIONAL INFLUENCES IN ARCHITECTURE : by STANLEY C. RAMSEY : being a paper read to the Sociological Society on 4th July, 1922.

"THE sure and certain hope for the fruition of the New State is in the coming of a generation endowed with a steady outlook towards the future, yet accustomed to turn to the past critically though affectionately. For the future can never be disconnected from the past, but must ever be continuous with it. By deliberate selection from past tendencies surviving into the present, and by judiciously planned recombination of them, we may shape the future."

—THE COMING POLITY.

I FEEL that I owe it to you to open my paper to-night with an apology for the title. I should have preferred to have called it REGIONAL AND VOCATIONAL INFLUENCES IN BUILDING, but our modern methods of confusing words and meanings, leave me no alternative, if I am to express myself with any exactitude, but the one I have chosen.

As I have said, I should have preferred to use the word "Building," because this is both more homely and more general—but we are accustomed now-a-days to mean by "Building" merely the practical and contracting part of building work, and to regard the builder as a man who is an expert on accounts and drains—as one who builds, but as one who cannot build beautifully, I will not say intelligently, without expert direction. The expert director we call the "Architect." Professor Lethaby tells us that we lost the art of building with the close of the Middle Ages, though some survival of it may have continued to the end of the 17th century—after this, all was "Big-wiggery and Puffery," though I believe that even Professor Lethaby has a sneaking regard for Wren. But I hope to convince you that though that is partially true, it is not the whole truth, and that even the "Illuminati" were a necessary part of the evolution of building.

WE must remember that this arbitrary division into "Architects and Builders," is of comparatively recent date—that down to the end of the 18th century, men were both Architects and Builders. Sir William Chambers and Robert Adam, both contracted for buildings in addition to designing them. Another very general word to describe the architect that was used during Renaissance days, and one with which this Society is very familiar, is the word "Surveyor." But to survey, though very necessary before and during the progress of building is not the same as building, and I feel that the general acceptance of the word "Architect" is sound, for it is, as you know, derived from the Greek, and means the "Arch Constructor" or "Master Mason" and though your master-mason may, in a clay country be your master-bricklayer, or even in a timber country your master-carpenter, the meaning is the same

in each case—the man who shapes and determines the character of your building. It is interesting to note that whereas the term bricklayer (except in a few stone districts) is the general term for the carcase throughout England, an operative who does corresponding work in Scotland is known as a mason—a very real and significant distinction.

In a paper which I had the honour of writing for the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, I attempted to describe the regional and vocational influences that produced the ancient architecture of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, Rome and mediæval Europe—the place, work and folk, and the resultant habitations. The river and the clay buildings of Mesopotamia, the river and the clay transmuted into granite for the buildings of Egypt, the mountain stone and marble buildings of Greece and Rome and the forest and timber buildings, afterwards translated into stone of Northern Europe. Now to-night I hope to show (however inadequately) that the same fundamental conditions of place, work and folk, when cleared of all modern complexities and complications, together with those fundamental differences in occupation arising out of the valley section, still determine and control our architecture.

To return to our Valley section, we first have the miner, and it is to the miner (if I may use the word miner to include quarrymen) that we owe our best and our worst buildings. Professor Fleure in his *HUMAN GEOGRAPHY IN WESTERN EUROPE*, has drawn a very clear distinction between the miner in regions of increment, such as the quarryman-miner of Greece and Rome, and the miner in regions of difficulty, such as the coal miner in the bleak districts far from the cultural settlements, such as we find in this country. Professor Fleure points out that the better industrial conditions of Germany are in some part due to the development of her coal fields near the cultural centres—though it must not be forgotten that Germany did not develop her industries until much later than this country, and so had opportunity to profit by our mistakes.

PERSONALLY, I think the finest and most consistent architecture the world has ever seen was that of the ancient Greek Quarryman. The history of Greece and of Grecian architecture is so well-known that I only propose to dwell very briefly on it here. So much learning has been applied to its study that we are in danger of being crushed by the sheer dead weight of knowledge and to forget the essentially simple elements from which Greek building was evolved.

In the past our Professors of Architecture loved to deafen us with long Greek names—the longer the better—the “architrave,” was never called an “Architrave,” but the “Epistylum” and such a simple affair as a “guest-house” was described by a name that suggested a prehistoric monster, etc., etc.,—but, what they missed was the spirit of Greek Architecture—“The purest sensuous beauty, the perfect medium, never overstepping the limit of charming propriety and

grace," and, particularly, the sociological understanding of the ancient Greek people, without which, no one, be he ever so erudite will be able to understand, or appreciate, Greek architecture. Place, work, folk—sailors, agriculturists, shepherds and quarrymen, a mountainous country with fertile valleys, and we have the Greek people and Greek architecture. One book such as Professor Ernest Gardner's *ANCIENT ATHENS* is worth whole libraries of learned folios.

BEFORE considering the modern miner and his works we will again return to our valley section, and consider some of the other vocations, and their influence on building. In all countries throughout the ages, the great building people have always been the agriculturalists, the peasants. Their settled place of abode—the regular routine of their seasonal duties gave a permanence to their works that the other vocations missed.

SINCE the time when Adam forsook a life of leisured contemplation for one of agricultural energy, down to the present time, the main work for the mass of mankind has been agriculture. It is on the rich agricultural plains and in the fertile valleys that wealth accumulates and cities rise. If you would search out the most beautiful towns and villages in England, you will find them in the old agricultural centres. Probably the most beautiful of all in the regions where the plains meet the foothills or extend to the Ports. Peasants by themselves, although they can build—have in fact, the constructive faculty—if left entirely to their own devices tend to become dull and require the inspiration of the shepherd with his mystical imagination, or the sailor with his mind stirred by foreign travel and strange adventure, in order to fire them to produce imaginative architecture.

BEAUTIFUL towns of course exist on plains (and a beautiful town is a collection of beautiful buildings harmoniously grouped together), but as a general rule I think you will find the towns in the middle of the plains (I am speaking of conditions as they existed up to the end of the 18th century) a little dull unless they happen to be on a great river, a main high road, or some other avenue along which flows the imagination and adventure of life. In this country the distances are so short that the clearest examples of such contrasts are not quite so obvious as elsewhere, but even here I think we can trace out the regional influences.

THE great middle plain of England contains many beautiful towns and villages, but where that plain extends to the foothills, where shepherds and peasants meet, as for instance in the Cotswolds, where there are some of the most beautiful villages in England, there shepherd, peasant and quarryman have given us of their best. Or again, take those portions of Kent and Sussex, where plain and fertile valley extend to meet the pastures of the North and South Downs, and you will be richly rewarded by a series of wonderful villages and small towns. Or

again, take that remarkable series of towns that run along the Welsh border—Chester, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Hereford, Ross and others—Here you have perhaps the clearest example of the peasants of the plain inspired by the shepherds of the hills—the music of Wales echoing through English walls. I believe it was Mr. Branford who in one of his books pointed out how it was the masons of the Cotswolds who, working under shepherd inspiration, descended on to the plain and built Oxford.

IF the agriculturist is an uninspired builder without the aid of shepherd contact and incitement—the shepherd without peasant aid and effort can, if he essays to build, rarely achieve anything beyond the simplest elements of shelter—the architecture of the sheepfold. Shepherds though remarkable for qualities of imagination, for artistic and musical expression, for the care and conservation of life, and for spiritual leadership can achieve very little that requires peasant-like qualities of hard and continuous effort. The Hebrew and Arab tent are amongst the earliest forms of shepherd shelter—but the Hebrews have left us no permanent architecture, and the Arab and Saracenic buildings embody the evanescent and fugitive quality of the tent—it is not structural and enduring like peasant and quarryman's architecture. Our own shepherds in the regions of difficulty of Wales and Scotland, with the aid of not very imaginative quarrymen, have left us a series of the simplest cottages and houses, very small and bleak on the hills and uplands, a little more interesting, where shepherd meets poor upland farmer and together, with the help of the quarryman or mason, build the simplest farmhouses and churches. In this country we find in the districts of the chalk downs the flint and chalk cottages of the shepherd communities.

IT is when shepherds and peasants meet the sailor at our ports that we get what is sometimes the finest architecture—the architecture of capital cities, of Edinburgh, London, Paris and recently New York; or the architecture of great seaport towns, such as Venice, Genoa, Bordeaux and Liverpool.

IF the sailor has not the high spiritual imagination of the shepherd, he has many other valuable qualities, and an imaginative range that even exceeds the shepherd's. His vocation brings him into contact with foreign countries and men of all nations; he is a trained observer and has ample time during his long voyages to meditate and digest what he has seen. He is imaginative, practical, a purveyor of ideas, able to rise very quickly to an emergency and capable of doing a great deal with very limited materials—his limitations are the limitations of his ship—he is capable of great effort for short periods, but unable to stand continuous effort requiring patient endeavour. Without peasant persistency of effort and the spiritual outlook of the shepherd, the sailor's buildings will tend to be ephemeral—he will be content with

second or third rate material, and if he always strikes an interesting note, he will be inclined to be satisfied with make-shift construction. All these qualities and defects can be seen in the architecture of any seaport town or fishing village.

VENICE built upon piles—beautiful as a dream—with fitful visions of Moorish domes, thin columns almost vanishing into mist—powdery stucco and facings of marble. Not that Venice has not many enduring buildings, the Italian peasant as well as the Italian sailor built it, but it has not the stability of Rome or Florence.

THE sailor is a disturber and irritant, he comes and goes, sets men's imaginations on fire, always wants to be trying something new—he shakes us out of our rut and sets us travelling along new routes. It would be interesting if I had the time and knowledge to trace out the action and re-action of the design of ships on the design of land buildings and vice-versa. Comparing the many-storied poops of the old sailing vessel with the timber and galleried fronts of the old wooden houses of London, Edinburgh and Bristol, to mention a few sailor-influenced towns. Though here another factor comes in—that of the woodman and woodman-ship-builder, and as far as the architecture of this country, and of the architecture of Northern Europe generally is concerned, the influence of the woodman is of paramount importance.

BUT to finish with our sailors, I have attempted to indicate how much we owe them as energisers and inspirers of our builders—those sailors, who from the days when Roman Galleys and afterwards Viking raiders visited these shores, have throughout the subsequent ages awakened us from our Island sleep and urged us on to new, and ever new endeavour. If at times the urgings have been followed too rapidly and consequent results have not been altogether successful, we must not altogether blame the sailors.

THE Victorian age and the Elizabethan have often been compared and similarities discovered in each. From the architects' point of view they were both experimental, restless, unsatisfactory, and if a large part of Victorian building might truthfully be described as "Jerry built" a large part of Elizabethan and Jacobean might I think with almost equal truth be described as "Jerry-designed."

THE Victorian civilization was essentially a miners' civilization, the improvisation of the mining camp, and Victorian building was mainly of the camp, or settlement variety, temporary and muddled, without real tradition, permanence or ordered beauty, and, if I am not stretching parallels too far, I should describe the Elizabethan civilization as a sailors' civilization—the improvisation of the ship (a more traditional and permanent affair than the camp), and Elizabethan buildings as sailors' buildings. In many ways the comparison is unfair, for much of Elizabethan work is extremely beautiful. The Elizabethans were

essentially great adventurers, great sailors and great expansionists, and their buildings had not the permanent qualities of preceeding or subsequent ages.

THE modest Tudor mansion expanded with the fortunes of the builders into the great family mansions of Hatfield, Wollaton, Longleat, etc., etc., and this expansion was too sudden for good building. Though these and other Elizabethan buildings are extremely interesting they are not well ordered, and although as I have said, much of the craftsmanship was extremely beautiful, yet the general effect is restless and unsatisfactory. These Elizabethan houses have, to my eyes, an experimental and transitory appearance, as of woodwork (and ship's woodwork at that) suddenly turned into stone. We can trace all the ship's details, the carved figure-head at the front of the house decorates the upper part of a bracket or consol—the long, thin vertical lines of carved stone-work bear the influence of masts and rigging, and even certain of the strapwork ornament suggests the folded sails. Elizabethan architecture has not the homeliness and agricultural character of the earlier Tudor, or the later Georgian, the most satisfying phases of all our domestic architecture.

As the great primeval forest which covered the whole of Northern Europe was slowly cleared and the Mediterranean culture passed up the Rhone Valley, a permanent, stable and all pervading land influence gradually determined the new buildings and towns in the forest clearings, whilst the sailors taking the shorter and easier sea routes qualified, quickened, and gave new direction to these land influences, the warp and woof of which it is not always easy to disentangle.

RUNNING through all the architecture of Northern Europe and in particular of this country, is the influence of the woodman. In the paper I wrote previously for the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, I dealt in some detail with the development of Gothic Architecture from forest forms, and I do not propose to inflict you with all the arguments I then used in attempting to prove my thesis. Gothic buildings were a logical and artistic development of forest forms and ideas, but with the passing of the Gothic, although the forest influences were still at work (indeed are still at work with us) their expression in building became more and more confused throughout Tudor and Elizabethan times, until with the advent of Inigo Jones and Wren, we obtained the masonry forms of the classic builders from Italy by way of France, though tempered with the brick influences of Holland and the Low Countries. I do not feel that we in England have ever quite assimilated the scale of classic work. The Scots have, perhaps, been rather more successful—Stone to them is a more familiar material, and it is interesting to compare the scale of the masonry as we find it in Aberdeen, for instance, with that of London. In the Scotch town there is a note of breadth and simplicity—the influence of the squared stone—whilst here in London our

masonry is for the most part small and timid and seems to pertain more to the scale of brickwork—and in fact London is a brick city.

THESE influences of timber, brick and stone qualified by the local conditions in the different parts of this country, were all important until the beginning of the 19th century, when, with the coming of the Industrial Age, we plunged back into our worse than forest confusion, and the pit-prop architecture (if it can be dignified with so fine a word) of the modern coal-miner inflicted us for close on one hundred years.

IT has frequently occurred to me that the Englishman's independence of character and mental obscurity as compared with the social homogeneity and logical clearness of the French is largely due to the fact that as an island people we retained our forest traditions much longer than the French, who were the first to clear the forest, and the first of the northern nations to feel the influences from the classic lands. The woodman's influence passed much more quickly in France. From a nation of woodlanders they became a nation of masons, and the miner-quarryman's influence became dominant. But in spite of our 150 odd years of classic architecture, when we, too, were assimilating Mediterranean culture, we to this day thrill, as I believe the people of no other nation can do, at the sight of a Gothic Cathedral, or an old half-timbered manor house. We feel that these are buildings that really belong to us. Even if we cannot as a nation profess to the clearness of French logic and our artistic expression is in consequence frequently weak and chaotic, we can at least claim one good gift from our forest tradition, and that is the love of the countryside and the open air life. The old tradition of the small isolated communities of the forest clearings, interpreted into modern terms of "individual house" and "Garden City" in contrast to the flat dwellers of other countries. I have said many hard things about our Garden Cities in the past, and I shall probably say worse things in the future—but that is not because I do not believe in them, but because I believe in them so whole-heartedly. Out of our forest obscurity, and our industrial coal-miners' muddle, we have evolved this original and precious gift to the other nations of the world—this modern idea of a Garden City.

I SAID at the beginning of this paper that I hoped to convince you of the value of our classic inheritance, that is of the building work that was carried out from about 1650 to 1800. It has to-day many admirers, and many detractors—and of the two I am not sure, but that it is the admirers who have done it the greater dis-service. If you have aristocratic and selective tastes and tendencies, you will admire it (or pretend to), whilst if you have democratic and eclectic tastes, you will hate it (or pretend to), but if you are really concerned with the art of this Country, you will neither unduly love or hate it, you will try to understand it!

WE all know how the highly centralized agricultural life of France led to the concentration of political power in the hands of the King—how he expressed this power by the building of Versailles—and how the French nation tiring of the kingly domination decapitated the unfortunate inheritor of that great Palace, and appropriated the palace for the use of the nation. But when the French people appropriated Versailles, they appropriated far more than a mere King's Palace, they also appropriated the ideas that went to the building of that Palace. They appropriated the great training school of the Beaux Arts and carried on the tradition which had built up a mighty School of Artists and craftsmen who ministered (or thought they were ministering) to the private pleasures of a few great princes and their mistresses, and used this talent and this tradition for the benefit and glory of the whole nation. They took the great aristocratic traditions and put them on a democratic basis, and that is one of the strongest reasons why France has been the leading artistic nation in the world for the last hundred years, or so.

It would appear when glancing down the records of the ages, that the French nation had patiently waited and watched until the exact moment, when the favoured governing few had acquired all they could of social and artistic culture, and then stepping in, had said—"Enough! Now the result of your governing shall be taken and handed over to the patient (though by this time not too patient) multitude."

IN this country we had no sudden and abrupt revolution. Our political revolution was earlier than the French, and our social revolution resolved itself into an industrial evolution—whilst our French neighbours were cutting off the heads of their King and Queen, we were discovering coal! Here we had no Louis XIV and no Versailles, but we had the great governing nobles and the great country house.

BUT if socially the industrial revolution made no great and violent changes, artistically it was far more revolutionary than the French. Almost before the industrial revolution was fairly under way, we had started with our Gothic revival, or if you prefer it, Gothic Renewal. The liberated energies evoked by industrialism expressed themselves spiritually in a renewed contact with the forest traditions. That is why for the last fifty years or so, though we have had a fine school of ecclesiastical architecture under the inspiration of our spiritual chiefs, and of domestic architecture devoted to the services of our hunter chiefs and their dependents, we could not build great cities or great communal buildings.

As architects, the one outstanding problem that demanded, and demands our solution, is that of what may be termed "Crowd Architecture." The architecture of the big hotel, the big store, the theatre and cinema, capable of seating huge audiences—these, whether you like it or not,

have all to be expressed in our modern cities, and it is better to express them well than badly. I do not think that we shall ever achieve the full masonic development of either the French or the ancient Greeks and Romans—the forest tradition is too strongly with us, but we can learn much from them in the way of logical statement and breadth of expression. In some way, I shall not be rash enough to suggest how, it appears to me that our problem is to make a marriage of Gothic energy with Classic culture.

BEFORE we can hope with any comfort to wend our way through the mazy intricacies of the Industrial Period, I think it might be helpful to get some simple idea of what exactly the earlier vocational types stood for in architecture. We have heard a great deal lately of the necessity of understanding materials and the need of expressing materials in our buildings, but when the matter is sifted down it seems to imply little more than the careful consideration of texture in our bricks and tiles, and the great moral value of displaying our steel work. But the correct use of materials implies a far greater knowledge than this, we must know how certain types used certain materials in the past, and why they used them.

THE miner-quarryman employed the squared block of stone or granite and gave us classic architecture, and if we are to use stone successfully, there must always be the feeling of the squared block hewn out of the heart of the mountain, running through every detail of our masonry. Our stone buildings must express the static repose of the mountain and the patience and excellence of the quarryman-mason. The forest woodlander gave us daring construction and dynamic energy, and if we wish to express these qualities in our buildings we must employ either wood or steel to do so—for the modern steelworker and steel-builder is the modern equivalent of the ancient woodworker. The peasant clay-worker on his fertile plains and on the banks of his pleasant rivers gave us simple homely buildings of brick expressing ease and comfort, and if we use bricks, let us use them in the traditional way, in broad simple masses—not cut up into all manner of irritating shapes—into thin piers and inadequate walls.

AND above all let us have a clear logical view of the possibilities and limitations of our materials, and not muddle up steel and stone, bricks and timber, as did our unfortunate coal-miner. Here if I may, I should like to quote a short passage from Emerson's "Essay on History":—

"By simply throwing ourselves into new circumstances we do continually invent anew the orders and the ornaments of architecture, as we see how each people merely decorated its primitive abodes. The Doric temple still presents the semblance of the wooden cabin in which the Dorian dwelt. The Chinese pagoda is plainly a Tartar tent. The Indian and Egyptian temples still betray the mounds and subterranean houses of their forefathers. 'The custom of making houses and tombs in the living rock' (says Heeren, in his

Researches on the Ethiopians) 'determined very naturally the principal character of the Nubian Egyptian architecture to the colossal form which it assumed. In these caverns already prepared by nature, the eye was accustomed to dwell on huge shapes and masses, so that when art came to the assistance of nature, it could not move on a small scale without degrading itself. What would statues of the usual size, or neat porches and wings have been, associated with those gigantic halls before which only Colossi could sit as watchmen, or lean on the pillars of the interior'?

THE Gothic Church plainly originated in a rude adaptation of the forest trees with all their boughs to a festal or solemn arcade, as the bands about the cleft pillars still indicates the green withes that tied them. No one can walk in a road cut through pine woods, without being struck with the architectural appearance of the grove, especially in winter, when the bareness of all other trees shows the low arch of the Saxons. In the woods in a winter afternoon one will see as readily the origin of the stained glass window with which the Gothic cathedrals are adorned in the colours of the western sky seen through the bare and crossing branches of the forests. Nor can any lover of nature enter the old piles of Oxford and the English cathedrals without feeling that the forest overpowered the mind of the builder, and that his chisel, his saw, and plane still reproduced its ferns, its spikes of flowers, its locust, its pine, its oak, its fir, its spruce."

BUT to return once more to our valley section, we have now to consider the last and most formidable of our regional types—that of the coal-miner, and the Industrial Age which he inaugurated.

As I have said, and a glance at the map will verify it, our coalfields have for the most part developed in what Professor Fleure calls regions of difficulty, on blank moor and barren hill-side, remote from the old cultural centres. If the coalfields had originally developed in the agricultural South, say Kent, for instance, instead of the barren North, the architectural history of this country for the last hundred years might have been entirely different. But, in addition to the isolation of the coal fields, coal mining was a new occupation. I believe that when the South Wales coal fields were first opened up, tin miners from Cornwall were imported to work them, and did so until a new generation of Welsh miners grew up and worked the mines themselves. But if the occupation of coal mining in this country was a new one, it quickly became of paramount importance, for until the discovery of electricity and the more recent application of oil to industry, coal was the greatest factor in our modern civilization.

THE whole of the industrial prosperity of the 19th century was based on the use of cheap coal, and the coal miner became the dominant vocational type in our civilization. The emergence of the coal miner was followed by a rapid growth in the population—I believe that the population of Great Britain more than quadrupled itself between 1800 and 1900. This was only possible by the great and rapid accumulation of riches, and by greatly increased facilities of communication, all due to coal. Coal, iron and steel—railways—steamboats—industries—cheap food—cheap clothes—cheap buildings—an age of cheapness

expressed by cheap architecture. If the Elizabethan age were an age of expansion by sea-wealth, the Victorian age was a period of expansion by coal-wealth. The architecture of the 19th century might scientifically be termed the architecture of the coal-mining period.

IN comparing the two building periods of the Elizabethan and the Victorian, and the rapid expansion of society reflected in those buildings, it is interesting to note that when some 30 years or more ago the architectural and artistic conscience of this country began to be disturbed, and to feel that all was not well with our coal-mining architecture, we did not turn at once to the agricultural models of mediaeval or Georgian days for our renewal, but to the sailor-expansionist models of Elizabethan times. Since then we have gone for architectural renewal to Tudor, Queen Anne and Georgian models in succession, with an occasional glance at French and Italian, and recently to Greek and Roman. It would appear that to-day everyone, architect and layman alike, is struggling to recapture both in our buildings and our furniture, some of the agricultural beauty of pre-Victorian days.

IF the architect is anxiously searching for the traditional motive, the layman has become an anxious collector of old furniture. There have always been collectors of the Antique, but to-day everyone seems to be a collector. The shop of the antique dealer is to be found in almost every town of any size throughout the country—but we no longer collect, or to a very limited extent, and then chiefly confined to easel pictures, the works of contemporaries. Disgusted with the artistic fatuities of the 19th century we are, as it were, seeking frantically to establish a better standard of taste, to gather round us a collection of beautiful objects that the next generation will possibly accept them as a matter of course, and will then with eyes trained by the work of the old masters give rein to the joy of creative effort.

IN a perfectly healthy state of design one would not think overmuch as to tradition and precedent, but would rather execute one's various commissions in the vernacular of the day. But, we have not been living in a perfectly healthy time, and it appears to me that before there can be any generally accepted tradition, either in our architecture or in our furniture, we must have accustomed our eyes, and possibly the eyes of our descendants to the lines and features of good design, and this desire to collect old pieces of furniture for the interiors of our houses, and architectural motives for the exteriors is based on a very sound and vital principle. It is in effect a desire to obtain the best the past can give; to recapture some of the beauty and charm that we have lost in an age of industrialism and even at times though it results in a somewhat abjectly slavish copying, I do not think we need greatly distress ourselves. It is difficult to believe that any style can be formed as the result of mere volition. We must have our eyes accustomed to good lines and sound traditions of craftsmanship, not for one generation,

but for several generations, before we can hope to express ourselves in a vital and living style.

IF socially, the problem that always confronts us is the conversion of the hunter, artistically the problem is the conversion of the coal-miner, and I believe that this conversion is rapidly taking place. In the early days of coal-mining in this country, everything, including the housing of the miner, was of a temporary and make-shift character. The whole of the industrial portion of England (not to mention Scotland and Wales) was turned into one vast mining camp and the ideals of the mining camp—the temporary house, and the no less temporary, but rather more gaudily decorated drinking saloon—rapidly became the models of all our buildings.

If you would wish to take a typical development along the lines of the miners' camp, I cannot do better than refer you to the ribbon towns of the Rhondda Valley in South Wales. Here you see it all, rows of brick transfigured shacks, gaudily decorated saloons or gin-palaces, and as a counter attraction the scarcely less terrible efforts of the modern Welsh Chapels. For a long time it puzzled me as to why these Welsh Chapels were so bad architecturally—but I believe the answer is that they had to rival the attractions of the miners' saloon—and so we find them, not only in the industrial parts of Wales but in the agricultural centres as well—for the coal-miner as the dominant vocational type imposes his will on all—and not only in Wales but throughout England and Scotland.

TOWARDS the end of the 19th century, we were rapidly becoming one vast mining camp from Land's End to John O' Groats. In the industrial regions, enormous tracts of what was once beautiful country, were covered with the sprawl and litter of the camp. Around London and the older towns, the ever growing population was housed in row after row of suburban shacks, vainly trying to disguise their miner origin in all kinds of architectural nonsense. One very striking characteristic of the inhabitants of our pre-war suburbs was the itch for change—at the end of every three years a great number of them pushed forward by the desire for change, or possibly the vain hope that the new shack would have more amenities than the old, moved from one suburban residence to another. This constant moving round created an atmosphere of instability in which it was impossible to properly develop either the love of home—meaning dwelling—or love of community—meaning town. In the past the old military camps gave us many a beautiful village and town—but they started with a definite sense of order, and if not permanent themselves they had within them the seeds of permanence—but the most striking feature of our mining camps is that they had no sense of order or organization—they were nothing but muddle.

DURING the whole of this industrial period we built with feverish energy—the energy of the miner—but with no joy in our building, and consequently no beauty—For the first time in the history of man “to build” was synonymous with “to spoil.” Previously all buildings, or nearly all, whether the single cottage, or house, or the collected buildings forming village, small town or great city, were considered as an added amenity and attraction to the country-side. Then to build was to beautify.

IN the North, new towns sprang up with incredible rapidity—mushroom cities as they were called—though they might more aptly have been described as “Mining camp cities.” The South did not suffer quite so much in comparison with the North—but only because in the South we build less, but here also the coal-miners’ was the dominant influence. I should like to think that it was the old cultural centres that exercised a restraining influence on Southern architecture, but I am afraid such influence was very limited in extent. Even our Cathedral cities and cultural centres did not altogether escape the invasion of the miner-builder. The only places that did, were the dead towns and villages, as they were called, of the remote agricultural districts. Such towns as Rye, Sandwich, Winchelsea, and many others, which slumbered, more or less undisturbed through the 19th century, have now become places of pilgrimage for architectural renewal, to which the student goes with notebook and measuring rod, to wrest from them the secret of their serene and triumphant beauty.

ONE of the saddest results, because of its futility, to my mind, has been the spoliation of so many of our fishing villages and small sea-side towns, in the effort to secure them for retreats from the noise of industrialism. The modern history of one small fishing village, turned modern pleasure-town, is very like another in its tragic absurdity. First a few enlightened individuals discover its charm and go there for a holiday—they perhaps communicate their discovery to their friends, and year by year more people go, until some enterprising person puts up some enormous hotel, which is immediately followed by a rival establishment, and then come your rows and rows of hastily conceived villas (in recent years your more hastily conceived bungalows) until presently the few enlightened begin to rub their eyes, and to discover that their charming little fishing village no longer exists, or if it exists it is only as a small corner of still another mining camp.

PROBABLY the most healthy sign for the future of architecture, or good building, is the ever growing dissatisfaction of the miner with the conditions under which he has to live. The enquiry into the conditions of housing in the mining areas and what it revealed, shortly after the close of the War profoundly shocked the conscience of this country.

BUT if the miner is getting dissatisfied with his shack and wants a real house, he is getting no less dissatisfied with his mining towns—his

jumbled collection of shacks and gin-palaces. The need for town planning, or town revision, is probably more keenly realized, as it is more urgently needed, in the industrial parts of England than anywhere else, and it must not be forgotten that Liverpool appointed a Professor of Town Planning at its University, long before London.

THE problem for the architect, and indeed for all of us, is to realise the best of the life that is going on around us, and to do this, we must leave our studios and offices, and in our civic and regional surveys attempt to understand the interplay of the various vocational types. We want more of the humanitarian and less of the academic about our work. When we, ourselves, become the channels of a throbbing and vital reality then, and then only, will our work live.

It is the great common movements of humanity that produce, or do not produce, great artistic periods, and it remains for the artists to note and give expression to such movements. Sometimes it takes the direction of centralized authority resulting in impressive monarchical institutions with all their traditions of pageant and splendour and the dominating importance of the individual expressed thereby, as, for example, in 18th century France and England. At other times we have the great upward surge of democracy resulting in localised and communal effort, the sinking of the individual interest for the common good, as, for example, in 5th century Athens, and as exemplified in the best mediaeval work.

WE see the same influence at work in the life of the city states of Italy during the earlier part of the Renaissance though in a less marked degree, and I believe we are at the present time living on the threshold of just such another period to-day in England. The individualistic ideals of the last century are rapidly giving way to those of a more communal and civic order.

I CAN imagine that in another generation we shall regard the person who expresses his individual pride in the building of a costly and luxurious private house, much as we regard the War Profiteer of to-day—as one who if not exactly to be shunned, will be looked on a little critically. I can imagine that, as in the best period of Athenian civilization, the houses of the chiefs and leaders will differ very slightly, at any rate in size and in importance, from the houses of the people, and that what is saved both in money and energy will be lavished on public buildings for the enjoyment and benefit of the community as a whole.

IN conclusion I should like to refer briefly to the post-war government housing schemes, as in these there seems to me to be the germ of a great hope for the future—that future which shall represent the artistic conversion of the miner, chiefly by the agency of settled housing conditions.

THE whole question of housing since the War has become so mixed with bitter political controversy that it is a little difficult for us to take

a fair view of it, we cannot see the wood for the trees, and some little time must elapse before we can get the right perspective. Amidst all the clamour and criticism directed at the Minister of Health, for all that has, and has not been done, in the way of providing houses, one aspect of the problem has largely escaped public attention—and that is, the effect of what may be called the housing movement on the future art of this country. When the Great War finished, there was a general determination amongst us, that the men who fought and won the War, should have opportunities for fuller and richer lives, and as it was impossible to discriminate between those who had fought in the field and those who had served in the workshops and factories at home, it meant, in effect, that all men were to have these opportunities.

THESE ideas were current before the War, but the War crystallized them and gave them effect, and the first realization of these changes became apparent when the great problem of housing had to be faced. When the Ministry of Health issued their first Manuals on Housing, in which were laid down certain minimum standards as regards the houses and the disposition of houses, it, at once, became apparent that a great advance had been made on pre-war standards. Now it is not pretended that those who framed these regulations were moved by any great artistic considerations—Their problem was that of providing healthy and economical homes.

As we have seen, the average workers' house before the War was a thing of unmitigated horror. Rows upon rows of cheaply and tawdrily built villas aping in their wasteful excrescences of coloured glass and distorted stone dressings, the dreary habitations of the more superior suburbs. The contrast between them and even the worst of the houses erected under the Ministry of Health is great and instructive. Mounting prices and the need for rigid economy, has lopped off the extraneous and hideous features beloved of the Speculative Builder. Gone are the coloured lights to the front doors; gone the sham half-timber work to the unnecessary gables; and gone the stone and terra-cotta ornaments that adorned bay windows and porches in unnecessary reiteration from the end of one dull, long street to the beginning of another.

THE Government houses have been described as brick boxes with lids on them, but even the most bald have something of that homely air that belongs to the old time cottage and farmhouse of our agricultural communities. It was a wise decision of the Government to make the various local authorities responsible for the carrying out of the schemes, rather than attempting to direct them from some centralized office. Control and direction there had to be; but the fact that for the first time in their history, the people of these Islands were to have a direct interest in the building of their own homes, is one fraught with a peculiar and far reaching significance.

ARCHITECTS who are responsible for the execution of these schemes and for the technical work involved in the planning and building of these villages and small towns, for such in many cases they are, know that not the least intelligent or responsive of Local Authorities are those Councils chiefly composed of what, for want of a better word, is called "Labour," and some of the most responsive are those in the mining districts. They and their kinsfolk are to inhabit these houses, and their interest is direct and personal—they are building their own homes.

Now it is axiomatic, that before a man can be an efficient citizen he must, in some degree, be an efficient man, and it can safely be assumed that before anyone can take a general interest in the fine arts, he must take a particular interest in the art of his own home. And that is why the Government houses which are being built hold so much promise for the future. They are expressive of the needs and interests of humanity, and starting from this humble beginning, the awakened interest which built them, will, I believe, grow progressively until we have not an academic, but a vital art, expressed in beautiful towns with fine streets and squares, adorned with real sculpture and magnificent buildings, the walls of which shall be rich with the glowing visions of great painters.

I HAVE attempted to outline, however, inadequately, the influences of the various occupational types and of the regions which they inhabited, and to shew how they reacted the one on the other, and that it was to the interplay of these various types that we owed our finest architecture and our most beautiful towns. For architects, more probably than for most people, the regional drama is a never failing source of interest and inspiration.

I FEEL that it has been somewhat of a presumption on my part to have attempted to deal in detail with the various sociological aspects of my subject before so distinguished a gathering of sociologists. Many of you have made the study of these subjects your life's work, and in my attempt to relate these social movements with architectural expression, I fear that I have betrayed the fact that I am a very amateur sociologist.

STANLEY C. RAMSEY.

June, 1922.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF UNIVERSITY AND
SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN: by
W. Mabane, Warden, University Settlement, Liverpool:
being a paper read at the International Conference of Settle-
ments, London, July, 1922.

I HAVE wondered whether many of those actively connected with Settlements in this country have realised the vital importance of this present Conference to the Settlements. This is no ordinary conference, but an occasion when Settlements, finding themselves at the parting of the ways, shall decide whether they are to drift to dissolution, or whether they are to build up on the splendid foundations of the past, an even more splendid future. It is my function to-day to examine the position in which Settlements stand at the present time. Let me begin by giving my ideas of the Settlement movement in the past.

WHEN Canon Barnett founded Toynbee, the need for social reform was not universally accepted. Some still endeavoured to preach and to practise the most rigid doctrines of the laissez-faire school—the poor, the sick, the unhealthy, the sub-normal, the deficient, were to be left to stew in their own miserable juice until, so the theory went, their own hapless plight provoked them to extricate themselves and become healthy, wealthy and wise. In the seventies, while some in the cultured and leisured world of Oxford and Cambridge had discerned that at any rate, so far as the industrial population is concerned, the stars must accept some responsibility for underlings, yet few had the opinion forced upon them by their own experience of slum conditions. But there was a growing uneasiness about this problem of the socially depressed. The keener and more earnest young men were beginning to feel the sneer that one-half of the world knew not how the other half lived, and, with all the nervous apprehension of the explorer about to enter unknown territory, were ready to try the trackless slums. The ground was ready for the seeds Canon Barnett was to sow, and which were to bear fruit in Toynbee Hall. Toynbee Hall was perhaps but one of many other efforts similar in spirit but different in form, devised to bridge the intolerable social gulf which had grown in modern England, but it was very much the most striking and remarkable of such efforts. Therefore is it now, and will it always remain, symbolic of a great revulsion of spirit in our social history. WHAT has been the outcome of that revulsion of spirit? It has, I think, been remarkable. The social problem of our time has been in considerable measure comprehended, has been given serious consideration, and has been tackled earnestly and with considerable success. Formerly, it was difficult for social work to gain support unless it appealed to the flabby mind or the overwrought conscience,

and though the dispensing of such charity served as a gentle opiate to the luxurious giver it definitely set back the clock of social progress. In Mrs. Barnett's book you will find a remarkable phrase, written at the outset of their work, "the poor starve because of the alms they receive." It may seem strange to think of charity as an instrument of social oppression, but I gather a very clear impression from Mrs. Barnett's book that in the early days one of the hardest fights was against the evil effects of the charity of the unwise. Toynbee Hall for the first time brought first-class minds into contact with these conditions, and the result, as was inevitable, was that all reached the same conclusion as Canon and Mrs. Barnett, to wit (1) that there was a social problem that urgently needed attention, and (2) that the way to tackle it was not by means of the dole and the soup-kitchen but by the development and application of scientific methods. The influence of Toynbee spread far and wide, and in consequence an enormous improvement has taken place in our methods of social administration. State Departments now exist where there were none before; voluntary associations treat their task more seriously and are able to appeal to a sense of social duty rather than a sense of pity in their supporters; health, education, poverty are reckoned not as no one's business or the business of any one in particular, but as the business of all of us as one community. All this has happened because the knowledge that in the early days of Settlements was hardly obtained and in the possession of few, is now, largely through the influence of Settlements, easily obtained and widely diffused.

BUT because there are now State Departments and well-organised voluntary bodies to cover the whole ground of social work, we are told that the task of the Settlements is done and their days are over. There is no longer a need for an institution the main function of which is to arouse a lethargic world to a proper sense of the urgency of the social problem, for the world is no longer lethargic. Each phase of the problem has now skilled and energetic people pressing ever forward to higher and better things. Therefore let the Settlements, having lived their day, submit to the honourable obsequies which the world is willing to give them.

In reply it is urged that the method whereby the Settlements were able to gain that knowledge on which their success has been built is in itself an end as well as a means. The world is the better when Dives and Lazarus have recognised their common humanity by treading the same paths, and by supping at the same table. The unusual yet abiding friendships that arose from the neighbourliness of a Settlement should not be abandoned lightly. To which comes the reply that no one desires to prevent the Oxford man living in a slum, but why organise such a perfectly normal thing as every-day life into an institution; why make a Settlement of it? If a man accustomed to

soft raiment and fine linen desires to share the hard lot of the slum dweller, let him do so, but let him not make a song about it.

THIS is the kind of criticism that is being directed against Settlements at the present time. The result is reflected in the fact that the majority of Settlements in this country are on the verge of bankruptcy or in serious financial difficulties; they are badly housed, many of them in an abominable state of repair; understaffed, and such staff as they have, underpaid. In some instances that I have come across, the number of residents is below the accommodation of the house, and of these residents only a limited number are of the type in whom the Settlement idea is properly enshrined, the rest being rather boarders with only the most fleeting interest in or capacity for the work of the Settlement. And the wretched Warden is often unable to check the influx of such residents. His dilemma is between financial loss resulting from an empty house, and spiritual loss resulting from incompetent residents. In short, the public are interested in many things before Settlements.

PUBLIC interest I do not regard as of necessity an infallible test of the success or the worthiness of our particular effort, but I am by no means sure that the lack of public interest in Settlements is the fault of the public and not of the Settlements. I have indicated broadly certain lines of criticism directed against Settlements to-day. To this insistent questioning "What are you at?—to what purpose?" I do not find the Settlements replying in certain voice with a clear statement of their method, their purpose, and thereby, their justification. When this Conference was first mooted, one person actively associated with a particular Settlement seemed surprised and startled. "But," he said, "do we want all Settlements to be standardised?" and he did not, I think, appreciate the distinction I made between a common purpose and principle and a diversity in practice. Yet it is just that common purpose and principle that the Settlements so urgently need to-day. I do not mean by that a vague and general statement of lofty ideals—I know many business firms that can do it much better—but a perfectly clear, definite, logical and well-reasoned statement of what we think we are out for, and how we think we can do it. I mean a common basis that will bind all Settlements together, a common denominator that will give a sense that seems to be at present lacking, into the common name of Settlement; a basis upon which we are all agreed, in which we believe, and which we are prepared to stand up for. Such a basis can be found: in my opinion, if such a thing as a Settlement movement is ever to have any weight in this country, it must be found. Without it there can be no such thing as a Federation of Settlements, for I cannot believe that the mere fact of deliberate residence in the slums without a clear knowledge of the reason and purpose of that residence, will ever be an effective binding

force for any group. What is the alternative? The public, already confused by the diversity of institutions existing under the name "Settlement," will continue to lose interest, a few people will continue nobly to live in the institutions bearing the name until their last bond is sold, their final mortgage called in, and the law of bankruptcy achieves what their good sense could not.

Now such a course is not necessary. The loss to the country by such a *dénouement* would be enormous. I think, on the contrary, the Settlements have work before them greater than any they have performed heretofore.

THAT is why I said that this Conference is of such paramount importance to the Settlements, and it is why I said the Settlements are at the parting of the ways. It will be the task, and I hope the accomplishment of this Conference, to choose the way and to find the path along which Settlements are to travel. If we do not return home welded into a stronger and more living unity, I for one shall be sorely disappointed.

I THINK you will agree that the years that have passed since the inauguration of Settlements have seen a remarkable development of specialisation in social work. Forty or fifty years ago "Charity" was a generic term in general use to describe social work. There was no clear distinction between say, the establishment of a boys' club, a soup-kitchen or a hospital. Since then there has been a continual breaking down of what we now call social work into branches, each a specialist branch, and demanding experts for its administration. No one, for example, would now think of supposing the expert in adult education could without damage exchange places with the expert in infant welfare, or the expert in infant welfare with the expert in industrial welfare. Now the Settlements started by being general. They laid their hands to anything, and probably did it better than any one else could do it until the experts arrived and social work became quite definitely professionalised and able to look after itself. The Settlements may endeavour to fulfil a useful function by being centres for the training or supply of professionals. This seems to me rather dull. Or they may find a particular piece of specialist work that suits them, and go ahead with it. This is the way of progress, and further it is demanded by the circumstances of the time, and the condition of the population among which Settlements are in general situated. I think the particular line of specialisation is not difficult to find. May I submit the interpretation of our social conditions which has led me to this opinion.

THE early Settlements found, herded together in our large industrial centres, a population which had practically no capacity for looking after itself. They discovered what was perhaps the most devastating consequence of the Industrial Revolution. In the 17th and 18th centuries the small centres of population had some community

organisation. With the exception of London, cities of any size were rare; towns were very limited in size; the greater part of the people lived in villages. The unit of social organisation, that is to say, was small, and within those smaller units there was considerable opportunity to develop a real community life, spontaneous and natural. The community idea, even as late as that, had in many places an opportunity of expression in industry, in so far as agricultural production was still organised on the common field and common pasture plan; it had expression in religion, for apart from ordinary worship, religious festivals were still occasions in which all participated with a considerable sense of communal purpose; in the sphere of recreation, dancing, singing, music, village sports, and athletics had a very definite community mind behind them.

AND what did the early Settlements find? Vast masses of people collected in our monstrous, amorphous cities, and no community sense in any of them. Round and about 1800 the village population had been torn from its anchorage as an incident in the industrial change, and had been left adrift without chart or compass on an unknown and, unfriendly sea, and, when the Settlements began their work, was still far from being righted on the even keel of community life. WHAT must have appalled the early Settlement, and what indeed appals us still, is the amazing passivity of the people. Passive in work, passive in play, passive even in opinion. But since Canon Barnett first came to the East End great changes have taken place. Not only has the leaven of public education had time to work, but all the other social reforms have slowly—almost imperceptibly—been changing the mental complexion of the mass of the people, and though they are still passive, I believe they are now potentially active. Young democracy is now stirring into active and independent life, and has an amazing fund of energy at its command. Little by little it is learning the method and the value of group organisation, and thus finding its way to the establishment of an active community life. The way is hard because all the units of community organisation to which we are accustomed are so very large. The nation and the municipality alike are beyond the comprehension of the ordinary individual by reason of their immensity and complexity. Such significance as they have is symbolic rather than real. I believe that the unit of organisation which the new democracy will use will be a much smaller one; it will be so small that the most peddling mind can comprehend it. That unit will be what, for want of a better name, we may call the neighbourhood. The new state will be built on a foundation of organised neighbourhood groups. The particular specialist task that I see awaiting the Settlements is the development of the neighbourhood group. Most Settlements, already, if unconsciously, are moving in that direction. The younger of the two

Settlement organisations, the Educational Settlements' Association, approaching the problem from a particularly difficult angle, is already finding that it has got on its hands not merely the centres of popular education that were intended, but really living neighbourhood centres, the members of which just refuse to confine their interest to education but range over all the social activities that concern their neighbourhood. In other Settlements, on the one hand, purely philanthropic activities are receding into the background, or being left to bodies more appropriate to the duties ; on the other hand, the notion is passing that the Settlement is a body of the élite whose peculiar function it is to organise and to lead the surrounding populace ; and instead, the task attempted is that of developing in the neighbourhood the power to organise itself to undertake all those social functions proper to it. And every day we see that neighbourhoods do want to organise. First, for recreation, outdoor and indoor pastimes ; next, for the development of dramatic and musical faculties ; from here is but a step to other forms of educational work ; and where the habit of organisation has grown strong, there soon follows a strong inclination for these small neighbourhood groups to unite in turning their attention in earnest to all the industrial, social, and political questions that affect the neighbourhood. It is only when child welfare, health and housing, education, recreation, industrial conditions, drink, immorality and social questions generally become the concern of active groups in every neighbourhood that we can hope to get a real public opinion. The trouble to-day is not that the will of the people is ignored, but that it does not exist.

I FORESEE a remarkable social phenomenon, that will be like a multitudinous swarming of bees, as the neighbourhoods suddenly cling together in corporate units. I hope that the swarming will take place, in the first instance, around the Settlements. I hope that Settlements will choose as their particular specialist work the development and the organisation of the neighbourhood groups, which will be the surest foundation of a new order.

You may disagree with my interpretation of the manner in which Settlements should accommodate themselves to present circumstances. If you do, I would ask you not on that account to avoid the question I put, and that should be thrashed out ruthlessly by every Settlement, and in particular by its Warden, "What to-day is your purpose ? What to-day is your goal ?" Those Settlements whose residents, workers, and supporters do not know the answer, and are not clear about it all, must inevitably suffer a creeping paralysis. A clouded faith cannot endure ; therefore do I urge that the most pressing task for the Settlements to-day is to get their faith clear, and to find a source of inspiration for their work which is suited to the times, which all can comprehend, and in which all can find abundant inspiration.

W. MABANE.

**SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL
SOCIOLOGY TO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THEORY¹ :**
by HARRY ELMER BARNES, Professor of the History of Thought
and Culture, Clark University.

IV. FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS (1855-).

No attempt will be made in this place to set forth a detailed and comprehensive survey of the sociological system or the psychological sociology of Professor Giddings. This task has recently been performed in easily accessible works in the English language. Professor C. H. Northcott has presented an excellent survey of the sociological system of Professor Giddings,² while Professor Giddings himself has recently summarized his psychological interpretation of society.³ All that will be attempted here is a general estimate of Professor Giddings' contributions to sociology and a brief analysis of the bearing of his psychological sociology upon the theory and practice of politics.

BECAUSE of his diverse contributions to the field of sociology and his development of a system of sociology which has embraced other than psychological factors, many students of the development of psychological sociology have failed to recognize in Professor Giddings a notable contributor to the psychological analysis of society. Yet, there is little doubt that Professor Giddings has produced the most original, complete and up-to-date of all the extant systems of psychological sociology. Further, however extensive and enduring his contributions may have been to physical, biological, historical and statistical sociology, it is certain that Professor Giddings has always approached the analysis of social processes and institutions primarily from the psychological point of view and that he has in the main regarded sociology as a psychological science.

PROFESSOR GIDDINGS' psychological interpretation of society has undergone a progressive, though not inconsistent, development. In his earliest works the central fact in his psychology of society was the "consciousness of kind." He states in his *PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY* that "The original and elementary subjective fact in society is *the consciousness of kind*. By this term I mean a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes another conscious being as of like kind with itself It acts on

¹For previous sections of this Study, see *THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* for July, 1922.

²"The Sociological Theories of Franklin H. Giddings," in the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY*, July, 1918; see also Bristol, *SOCIAL ADAPTATION*, pp. 201-7. Bristol, however, confines his discussion to Professor Giddings' earlier works and neglects the important *HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE SOCIOLOGY*.

³"Pluralistic Behavior," in the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY*, January and March, 1920. This is reprinted in his *STUDIES IN THE THEORY OF HUMAN SOCIETY*, pp. 249ff.

conduct in many ways, and all the conduct that we can properly call social is determined by it."¹ Between 1896, the date of the publication of his *PRINCIPLES*, and 1906, when his *HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE SOCIOLOGY* appeared, Professor Giddings expanded his key to the psychology of society from the consciousness of kind into "differential response to stimulation." Into this interpretation the consciousness of kind was woven as a subordinate but important factor. He best summarizes this analysis of society as follows: "Summarizing our analysis to this point, we may say that we conceive of society as any plural number of sentient creatures more or less continuously subjected to common stimuli, to differing stimuli, and to inter-stimulation, and responding thereto in like behavior, concerted activity, or co-operation, as well as in unlike, or competitive, activity; and becoming, therefore, with a developing intelligence, coherent through a dominating consciousness of kind, while always sufficiently conscious of difference to insure a measure of individual liberty."² His latest designation of the social process as "pluralistic behavior" may be regarded as primarily a change in terminology rather than in the nature of the interpretation. "Pluralistic behavior is the subject-matter of the psychology of society, otherwise called sociology, a science statistical in method, which attempts, first, to factorize pluralistic behavior, and second, to explain its genesis, integration, differentiation, and functioning by accounting for them in terms of the variables (1) stimulation, and (2) the resemblance (more or less) to one another of reacting mechanisms."³

ONE of the most satisfactory aspects of Professor Giddings' psychology of society is the absence of any one-sided interpretation. He has fully recognized the influence of physical factors and has attempted such a synthesis as will indicate the manner in which the physical and the psychical combine to create and carry on the social process. In *PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY* he says:—

SOCIAL aggregations are formed at first by external conditions, such as food supply, temperature, and the contact or conflict of individuals or stocks; and because of the segregating action of all incident forces, aggregations as a rule are composed chiefly of like units. So far the process is physical.

BUT presently, within the aggregation, a consciousness of kind appears in like individuals and develops into association. Association, in its turn, begins to react favourably on the pleasures and on the life chances of individuals. Individuals become aware of this fact, and the volitional process begins. Thenceforward the associated individuals deliberately seek to extend and perfect their social relations. Accordingly, individual and social choices become important factors in social causation. Among scores of social relations and activities that are accidentally established, tried, or

¹*PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY*, pp. 17-18; his most detailed analysis of the consciousness of kind is to be found in the *INDUCTIVE SOCIOLOGY*, Part II., Chap. iii.

²*HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE SOCIOLOGY*, pp. 8-9.

³*AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY*, January, 1920, pp. 388-9.

thought of, some appeal to consciousness as agreeable or desirable, while others arouse antagonism. The associated individuals select, endeavouring to strengthen and to perpetuate some relations, to make an end of others. In all this process, association, social choice, and social will are determined by the consciousness of kind.

Now, however, the physical process reappears. Choices have various consequences. Judged broadly, in their bearing on the vigour, the development, and the welfare of the community, choices may be ignorant, foolish, and harmful, or enlightened, wise, and beneficial. Here, then, is a new and almost limitless field for natural selection to work in. In the struggle for existence, choices, no less than individuals, may or may not survive. The choices and the resulting activities and relations that, on the whole, are baneful are terminated, perhaps through the subordination or the extinction of individuals, perhaps through the disappearance of whole societies. Thus the cycle of social causation begins and ends in the physical process.¹

A LATER, but equally good statement is contained in the brochure on "A Theory of Social Causation":—

HERE, then, is our whole hypothesis in restatement. Sociological study is the scientific examination of all those phenomena that proceed from like responses by many individuals to the same stimuli. A theory of social causation may be constructed if we can discover the conditions under which like response is inevitable or possible; the laws of arrangement of combination according to which various kinds of stimuli become operative; and the combinations of human activity that must follow as the extent and degree of like response are more or less. In the theory here presented the ultimate causes of society are assumed to be objectively the great physical processes of equilibration, conflict and selection, and subjectively the elemental appetites and passions of the animate organism. But it is further assumed that physical and mental forces create society only as they are correlated and combined in certain concrete forms. Combined in various types of environment the physical forces are complexes of primary stimuli. As such they determine: first, the character, the extent, and the groupings of primary response; and secondly, the genesis of secondary stimuli. The various correlations of response are the phenomena of conflict, adaptation and selection in their social aspect. The combinations of response are the modes of co-operation, the great processes of history, and the forms of social organization.²

By all odds what is most important in Professor Giddings' psychological sociology for political theory is his constant and convincing insistence upon the social causation of political processes, or, in other words, the dependence of political institutions and activities upon the basic forms and processes of society.³ The state itself is no unique entity, but merely the chief of constituent or purposive societies. It is the most effective agency by which society exerts its pressure over individuals and exercises social self-control:—

SUMMARIZING the foregoing observations, we note that the unconscious evolutionary process in nature creates types. Because they conform more

¹PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY, pp. 19-20.

²"A Theory of Social Causation," in PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, 3rd Series, Vol. V., No. 2, pp. 150-51.

³In this way his writings are an admirable corrective for the point of view taken in such books as Henry Jones Ford's NATURAL HISTORY OF THE STATE.

or less closely to type, animate organisms of the same variety or kind want the same things and in like ways try to obtain them. The various primary adaptations to environment, therefore, are inevitably supplemented by adjustments made by each individual to the similar adaptations of fellow-individuals. Group relations in which both competitive and co-operative activities are carried on—unconsciously or only imitatively at first, but presently, in the human species, deliberately—therefore necessarily appear. Society comes into existence. The conscious units of human society become increasingly aware of differences and resemblances among themselves. They apprehend the extent of their conformity to type or kind. The belief arises among them that in most instances marked departure from type is dangerous to the safety of the group or is a limitation of co-operative efficiency. Conformity to type is regarded as contributing both to the safety and to the efficiency of the group. Out of this notion grow conscious efforts to increase conformity, to scrutinize the "kinds" and to limit the range of variation. A social constraint is consciously evolved which exerts its pressure upon all component units of the group. Like environmental constraints, social constraint affects selection. In the long run it makes itself felt in the selective death-rate. The kind or type that survives under social pressure is believed by the conscious units of society to be relatively efficient in the struggle for existence. It is supposed also to be relatively individualized. A group or community in which increasing individuation is secured without imperiling race maintenance thinks of itself as progressive.¹

POLITICAL activities and institutions are but a function of social conditions at large. The degree of possible liberty depends upon the nature of the social population. In a homogeneous and like-minded population the possible degree of liberty and democratic organization will be great, while a heterogeneous population will require a large amount of authoritative and coercive control.² Further, the amount of liberty will vary in any society with circumstantial pressure. A society which may allow a large range of liberty and personal freedom in times of peace and prosperity will greatly curtail this in the periods of crises which are produced by wars, famines, floods and such special circumstances.³ Likewise, the desirable degree of state-activity will vary with the special characteristics of different societies. There can be no universal rule. In a prosperous, homogeneous state, where there is a large degree of like-mindedness, a high level of intelligence, and no great social and economic inequalities, an approximation to a *laissez-faire* attitude may well be the most desirable procedure. On the other hand, a heterogeneous society, with ethnic, cultural and mental diversity, and with marked social and economic distinctions will require extensive state-interference.⁴ But nothing short of adequate sociological guidance will suffice for any sort of state-activity. The chief practical significance and justification of sociology is its potential aid to statecraft.⁵

¹"Social Self-Control," in *POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 377-8.

²*ELEMENTS OF SOCIOLOGY*, Chap. xix.; "Theory of Social Causation," loc. cit., pp. 159ff.

³"Pluralistic Behavior," loc. cit., pp. 390-92, 402-4.

⁴*PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY*, pp. 353-4; *ELEMENTS OF SOCIOLOGY*, pp. 216ff.

⁵*PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY*, pp. 128-31; "The Relation of Social Theory to Public Policy," in *PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY*, 1911, pp. 1-16.

POLITICAL leadership, and the tendency towards oligarchy, even in democracies, is also to be explained on socio-psychological grounds. The domination of the few is the product of differential response to stimulation. The alert respond most rapidly and surely, and inevitably come to dominate any situation. It is doubtful if any form of government will be able to eliminate the results of this inevitable tendency, which grows out of the hard fact of the great differences in ability in the social population :—

THE city-state contained two embodiments and sources of political power, —one, the older gentile folk, aristocratic and proud ; the other, an immigrant populace and its descendants. The aristocracy was a minority of the total population, and always it was tending to become relatively smaller as generations passed.

IN this opposition of the few to the many there was nothing exceptional. In any aggregation of human beings it may be found by the discerning, and an understanding of its origin and significance is the beginning of any scientific knowledge of the powers of the state.

THE causes of it lie deep in the psychology of pluralistic behavior. Everything that animals do and everything that human beings do is a reaction to stimulation. The reactions of different individuals to the same given stimulus are not equally prompt, they are not equally persistent. Also, the reactions of different individuals differ in complexity and in volume. The timid start, and scurry out of the way. The less timid, but dull-witted and numerous, betray emotion—of fear or of anger, or of satisfaction, or possibly of exultation. Exceptional individuals react intellectually. These begin to inquire, to examine. Perhaps they think and plan. They may compare observations and ideas and enter into discussion. Only a very few out of all the reacting units begin systematic work to put in operation a more or less well-considered plan. With varying degrees of persistence and of success these few make the adjustments and carry on the further activities called for by circumstances. No accident ever happens in the street, no excursion or outing is ever enjoyed, no fluctuation of supply or demand occurs in the market, no unforeseen exigency arises in a political campaign that does not reveal to us these differences of reaction among our fellow-beings.

THESE facts are simple and familiar, but their import is tremendous. For the few who react systematically and persistently to new situations as they arise, are the nucleus, in human society, of a ruling group or class.

It has been my habit in my lectures on "Social Evolution" to call this dynamic nuclear group a "protocracy." Every kleptocracy of brigands or conquerors, every plutocracy, every aristocracy, and every democracy begins as a protocracy. It comes into existence and begins its career as a little band of alert and capable persons who see the situation, grasp the opportunity, and, in the expressive slang of our modern competitive life, "go to it" with no unnecessary delay.

WE now have arrived at the first induction, the fundamental principle of political science, which is, namely : *The few always dominate.* Invariably the few rule, more or less arbitrarily, more or less drastically, more or less extensively. Democracy, even the most radical democracy, is only that state of politically organized mankind in which the rule of the few is least arbitrary and most responsible, least drastic and most considerate.

BUT how, it is proper at this point to inquire, does protocracy achieve dominating influence and power, and how does it establish its rule? How does it make itself a kleptocracy, or a plutocracy, or an aristocracy? And how, at length, is its power limited and conditioned by the many, who thereby establish democracy?

AGAIN we must begin with pluralistic behavior. When the few react to a new situation more systematically and adequately than the many do, the few thereby create yet another new situation, and it is one to which the many must adapt themselves as best they can. The action of the few is approved by numerous individuals who could not or did not initiate, but who are willing to co-operate under direction and encouragement. If the enterprise succeeds, the ranks of these followers who aid and abet, but who never take responsibility, are rapidly filled, and from that moment the indifferent and the recalcitrant, the men on the side lines, and the objectors, have to conform to the ways and purposes of a going concern.¹

PROFESSOR GIDDINGS' theories of the importance of like-mindedness and cultural homogeneity lead him into positive positions with respect to international relations. He is one of the most outspoken of the sociological exponents of imperialism, in the sense that this means the extension of the advanced western civilization to more backward peoples.² Further, while a critic of war and militarism in modern society,³ and a believer in a league of nations to enforce peace, he doubts the possibility of a world league. He holds that there can be no effective international co-operation between peoples with widely differing cultures, ideals and codes of procedure. Any league of states which would have any vitality or permanence must presuppose cultural homogeneity on the part of the states united for collective endeavour.⁴

FINALLY, Professor Giddings contends that not only do political institutions and practices depend upon the basic conditions and circumstances in the political environment, but also that the great political ideals which have succeeded each other in history and the chief historic types of social and political theory are correlated with definite types of society, which they reflect and seek to justify. No other sociologist has attempted so definite an effort to relate social and political theory to the social environment.⁵

(To be continued.)

¹THE RESPONSIBLE STATE, pp. 17-21.

²DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE, Chaps. i., xvii., xx. Contrast these views with those set forth by Hobhouse in his DEMOCRACY AND REACTION, and by Hobson in his IMPERIALISM.

³THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE IN THE WORLD OF TO-MORROW.

⁴"The Bases of an Enduring Peace," PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION, No. 113, April, 1917.

⁵"Theory of Social Causation," loc. cit.; "The Concepts and Methods of Sociology," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, September, 1904, pp. 169-70.

CIVIC REVIVAL : an account of the progress of Civic Societies :
by Mrs. Victor Branford.

At a meeting of the Sociological Society addressed by Professor Geddes on "Civics as Concrete and applied Sociology" on January 23rd, 1905, Civic Societies were first adumbrated in the course of the discussion by Mr. A. W. Still of the *Morning Post*. He said (p. 115 *Sociological Papers*, 1905) "We may take some hope from what Professor Geddes has said that the time is coming when we shall bring the force of our characters to bear on our environment and endeavour to break away from conditions which have made us the slaves of environment It has always seemed to me that there is room for good work by some body of men who would make it their business to acquire all that knowledge which Professor Geddes has first put before us in terms so enchanting and would use all the ability that they possess in order to lead the minds of the community towards the cultivation of the best and highest ideals in civic life. I do not think it need be regarded as impossible that from an association of this kind such a movement as I have mentioned should spring. I conceive the possibility of each group developing into a trust capable of acting in the interests of the city in years to come exercising a mighty influence, being relied upon for guidance and administering great funds for the common good At least once a year these little groups of men might meet together at some general conference and raise up and perfect civic ideals which would be a boon to this country."

It was not for some years after this that the Civic Society movement actually took shape and we believe that the LONDON SOCIETY led the way. Its aim as expressed in its monthly journal of which the January number is the 59th to appear is "to unite all Londoners who see the necessity of stimulating a wider concern for the beauty of the capital city, for the preservation of its old charms and the careful consideration of its new developments."

THE London Society arranges visits to places of interest in London and Lectures on London problems. It is at the present time publishing a valuable series of papers on "The Transport and Open Space Problem in City Development," while its November issue also contains an article on the Roman Wall of London, thus well illustrating the combination of forelook and backlook for which the Civic Society stands.

Its valuable plan for parkway and open space development round London which has been published and can be obtained from Messrs. Stanford Ltd. (12, Long Acre, London, price £2 15s.) is now being supplemented by a no less needed scheme for inner London. More funds are required for the completion of this much needed work.

THE LIVERPOOL CITY GUILD exists for the "Preservation and Increase of the Natural and Structural Beauties of Liverpool and District, and for the Advancement of the Fine Arts." It was formed in 1909 from the amalgamation of three previously existing societies whose individual aims came within the scope of the new organisation.

AMONG other activities the Guild has taken part in the promotion of local town planning schemes and has drawn attention to the advantages of the Garden City principle. It is gratifying to observe that this idea has been largely adopted in laying out the new suburban Housing Schemes of the Liverpool Corporation.

A PROTEST, in which the Guild took part, against the threatened disfigurement of St. George's Hall, one of Liverpool's proudest possessions, in order to provide a fitting position for a statue of the late King, led to the abandonment of the project. The statue has been erected at the Pierhead which, it is interesting to note, had been suggested for the purpose by the Guild.

To illustrate directions in which useful work might be done by a society such as the one now mentioned, allusion may be made to certain subjects brought before it recently. On the one hand, the danger was shown of a fine tree being destroyed by reason of building operations and of an interesting 15th century Manor House perishing through lack of repair and, on the other, attention was drawn to the nuisances arising from the emission of excessive smoke from steam lorries and the scattering of paper about the streets. In each case representation was made in an appropriate quarter and in one instance the Guild was able to make a conditional offer of money and in another a small cash grant, in support of the course of action suggested.

THE BIRMINGHAM CIVIC SOCIETY has been fortunate in having at its disposal during the year covered by its last report, owing to the Civic spirit of some Birmingham citizens, a special fund of £15,000 for land purchase. Of this over £4,000 was expended in land at King's Norton, £631 for a smaller purchase entitled "Daffodil" Park, and since the report was issued, £9,000 in buying 42 acres adjoining "Highbury" the seat of the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and presenting it to the city for use as athletic grounds and other recreational purposes. The very interesting and delightful scheme for developing the Lickey Hills,—a beautiful hilly area connected by tram and recently presented to the city by members of the Cadbury family—for purposes of recreation, which was made by Mr. William Haywood, Lecturer to the University on Civic Design, Hon. Secretary to the Civic Society, has not yet been adopted, yet it has served as a standard to prevent any misuse or spoiling of this valuable natural playground. The pamphlet describing and illustrating the suggestions made can be obtained for 1s. 6d. from the Society at 37, Bennett's

Hill, Birmingham, and would be found useful in its suggestions for other groups. The scheme for "Northfield and its preservation within the N.W. planning area" which can also be obtained (and is well worth obtaining) for 2s., has now been adopted by the City Town Planning Committee and incorporated in their development scheme.

THE Report for the year mentioned above states that, as a direct outcome of the scheme prepared by the Society and illustrated in the previous report (showing a development of children's gardens and paddling pond, as well as road widening and improvement, at a junction of certain roads bordering on Cannon Hill Park) land for the purpose is probably to be presented to the city while the Society is contributing £1,000 towards the rest of the advocated layout.

WE cannot refrain from quoting in full the introduction to the last Report. It reads as follows:—

THE BIRMINGHAM CIVIC SOCIETY.

"THERE has been formed under the above name a Society of Birmingham Citizens who see the necessity of stimulating a wider concern for the beauty of their city.

"NOTHING in our modern civilisation has been more mischievously under-estimated than the influence of the physical aspects of a town upon the spiritual and moral life of its community. People who resent the dirt and ugliness in which a commercialised society has environed its common life are at present forced to make their own private refuges where they can indulge their instinct for decent and beautiful surroundings. This is evil; a citizen's home should be beautiful, but it should be so as a happy contribution of the individual to a beautiful city. Instead of making a tolerable seclusion for himself with what taste he can, the citizen ought to look upon it as an honourable obligation to make his home worthy of the city that sets a clean and noble standard of comeliness. At present it is impossible for him to do this, since his city is mean and unlovely.

"THE aim of the Birmingham Society will be always to keep in mind this ideal of a regenerate city. Its members will realise that sweeping schemes of reconstruction cannot suddenly be executed, but they will remember too, that such reconstruction, however slowly it may be achieved, is the only hope of making the city we live in a monument to anything but our carelessness and greed.

"THE Society will, by every possible means, bring public interest to bear upon all proposals put forward by public bodies and private owners for building; upon the laying out of open spaces and parks and generally upon all matters concerned with the outward amenities of the city and district. It will not presume for itself peculiar authority in matters of taste, but it will insist that taste is a thing that

matters, realising that more than half the blunders that are made in this direction, to the lasting harm and discredit of the community, are made by men to whom, since their æsthetic judgment is not called in question, it never occurs that such judgment is of any account one way or the other. Conscience in this thing would be stiffened at once by mere expression of public interest ; not one man in a hundred who is about to commit an offence against taste would defend his own bad intention for ten minutes if it were intelligently and generously challenged at the outset."

BUT the Society does not confine its efforts to the promotion of outward beauty. "There are no forms of activity industrial, intellectual, spiritual, or moral which a civic organisation as a purposive effort has not the right and the duty to influence and direct, and because a city is an organisation of rational and emotional beings it has the means in its own hands to realise them." These inspiring words are from an address on Civic Art by Principal Grant Robertson preceding the award of the Society's Gold Medal for the year to Mr. Barry V. Jackson on account of his work in connection with the Birmingham Repertory Theatre. In the course of Mr. Jackson's address on The Theatre and Civic Life (published by the Society at 1s.) he says :—
 "No hard and fast lines can be set down for any betterment of our theatre. It would seem that the cities of these islands are tending to become more and more self-expressive. The drama has for some time been absolutely dependent upon London, and any talented artists, whatever their calling, feel themselves drawn towards that wilderness of humanity as if its streets really were paved with gold. One cannot blame them. Their gifts are appreciated only by the few, and the one advantage the Metropolis has over the provincial cities is that there is more of it, it is greater in bulk. If there are six people who appreciate a play, a picture or a poem in Birmingham, the chances are that there will be six hundred in London.

"OUR provincial cities must learn to take a civic pride in their artists, to use every endeavour to induce those who have gone out into the world to return and work in their native city, to help them in their efforts and to learn from them, not to drive them away by apathy, by inattention, by the contumely born of acquaintance and the false theory that nothing good can possibly emanate from one's neighbour. On these lines it seems that our Civic Society can accomplish much. Our endeavour to make our city beautiful need not be confined to outward memorials, material forms and shapes, admirable as such work is. We must attempt by every means in our power to strike deep down to what is after all the fundamental base—the mentality of the individual. Then the rest will follow. Before we become a great scattered mass similar to the Metropolis, we must strive to attain some sort of homogeneity, some order, some plan in every walk

of our civic life, and to accomplish this it is essential that we keep our artists, our dreamers of dreams and our seers of visions among us. They are an integral part of communal life. We must help them to resist the temptation of the roads that legend says are paved with gold, and I assure you very sincerely that this temptation is of tremendous strength, calling with siren voice unceasingly.

"If the theatre is ever going to play a serious part in our civic life, it will have to be definitely acknowledged and protected by the leaders of the community. The vicissitudes which the drama has undergone and survived prove that it is a vital part of the lives of the masses."

THE LEEDS CIVIC SOCIETY states that "The desire of its promoters is to enlist the cordial interest of the citizens generally in proposals and schemes that tend to further the improvement and general welfare of the city, and also to enhance its beauty. It is promoting an essay competition in the schools on the subject, 'What can a young citizen do towards the beauty and order of his town?' and has lately had a photographic competition for school children. Its earlier activities include a very successful 'Housing' Exhibition and a War Memorial Exhibition.

"FOLLOWING up the suggestions made at the Annual Meeting last October, the Hon. Secretaries endeavoured to arrange two deputations to Committees of the Leeds City Council, one to the Education Committee, urging that some definite instruction should be given in the elementary schools on the duties of a citizen towards his town, and also on what might be termed 'Civic tidiness'; and another to the Parks Committee principally to urge that suitable shrubs and plants in tubs should be transported to Victoria and City Squares by tram-lorry, and frequently changed during the favourable seasons of the year. A list of 26 varieties of shrubs and plants suitable for growing in a smoky atmosphere was obtained from the Curator of the Royal Botanic Society, and forwarded to the Parks Committee.

"THE Chairmen of the two Committees concerned could not see their way to receive deputations on the subjects named.

"AFTER further correspondence the Parks Committee replied that, their estimates having to be largely cut down, they were unable to consider the suggestion of displaying shrubs and plants in the centre of the city, nor were they able to provide any new seats in the open space of Hunslet churchyard, or in any other open spaces as had been asked.

"THE Hon. Secretaries also visited the Rev. C. Gallacher and offered prizes for a window box competition, which it was hoped might be promoted by the Hunslet Allotment Association, but owing to the unfavourable industrial conditions it was not possible to proceed with the idea."

THE above quotations from the last Report seem to show that the inspiration of its Civic Society is badly needed in Leeds.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

THE RICHMOND CIVIC ASSOCIATION developed as a result of an Exhibition of "Beautiful Richmond—Past, Present and Possible," which was held in the autumn of 1918 by a representative Richmond Committee and at which addresses were made during the week of its existence by several prominent town planners. The Sections formed so far include Committees for:—

- (a) Recreation.
- (b) Music (League of Arts Choir).
- (c) Open Spaces and Gardening.
- (d) United Religious Service annually in the open-air.
- (e) Regional Survey.

THE organization of open-air dances and concerts has been the work of the Recreation Sub-Committee. Success depends largely on the weather conditions, and while in 1921 they were most successful, in the past summer many wet evenings prevented their being held. There is no doubt of their being appreciated by the public. This is also the case in regard to both the indoor and open-air concerts given by the League of Arts Choir which have been of a high degree of merit and very well attended.

THE open spaces and gardening side is making headway. Various odd corners have been gardenized; the gardenizing of a disused burial ground is to be begun shortly. A vacant piece of ground in a very thickly populated area has been bought by the Town Council to be put in order as a playground, as suggested by the Civic Association.

AN annual Religious Open-Air Service by all denominations in the town has been promoted and is held on the first Sunday in July and attended by all sorts of local organizations as well as by the general public. A collection is taken, and is handed to the Royal Hospital.

THE NOTTINGHAM CIVIC SOCIETY is in course of formation by the Nottingham and Derby Architectural Society.

Nottingham and District Architectural Society.

The Nottingham Society of Artists.

The Nottingham Society of Engineers.

The Little Movement, The Rotary Club, The Thoroton Society, and The Workers' Educational Association.

IN continuation of a movement begun before the War for making Dublin into a worthy capital of the new Ireland a DUBLIN SOCIETY is in course of development.

THE PRO-JERUSALEM SOCIETY is in some ways the most interesting of Civic Societies, for it unites in a common devotion to the sacred City leading representatives of all the clashing religions and otherwise divided Christian bodies. To read the list of the members of its Council is a lesson in history. It includes, among others, the Mayor of Jerusalem,

The Director of Antiquities, His Eminence the Grand Mufti, His Beatitude the Orthodox Patriarch, His Beatitude the Armenian Patriarch, His Beatitude the Latin Patriarch, His Reverence the Custodian of Terra Santa, The Very Revd. Chief Rabbi, the Chairman of the Zionist Commission and the President, Ronald Stors, C.M.G., C.B.E., Governor of Jerusalem. It was founded by the Governor of Jerusalem for the purpose of saving the antiquities of the city, preserving its amenities, protecting the Ancient City from industrial desecration, and laying out the modern City. The Civic Administration now contributes pound for pound of the membership dues it draws from all over the world.

A BOOK giving a most interesting and fully illustrated account of its doings from 1918-1920 by its first Hon. Secretary, Mr. C. R. Ashbee, was published last year and reviewed in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*. It may be obtained for £2 2s. from Messrs. Batsford, High Holborn. The report for the year ending December 31st, 1921, deals with the archaeological work, which it is stated "grows in importance every month," and with the public gardens made and tree planting carried out in the Old City, as well as the work done in promoting and reviving crafts and industries. The last *Bulletin* published in June deals with developments of this work and states that the town plan has made steady progress.

It is obvious that Civic Societies scattered as they are, and sporadically as they are developing, would find much of interest and value in a closer relationship among themselves giving opportunity to discuss aims and explain activities. The Cities Committee of the Sociological Society is therefore arranging a Conference to be held at Leplay House in March next to which most of the Civic Societies mentioned above will, it is hoped, send representatives. It is hoped that some other towns and regions not yet possessing Civic or Regional Societies may be stirred up to initiate them. It has been well said that the Bible begins with the Garden and ends with the City; so too we find Greece at its greatest culminating in such cities as Athens; but our industrial cities seem to illustrate the fall rather than the salvation of man! But history is still in the making and the present Civic Revival is one of the most hopeful signs that our future may yet repair the faults and shortcomings of our past.

S. B.

**THE OXFORD CONFERENCE ON THE CORRELATION OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES : An Appreciation of the Discussions**
by Alexander Farquharson, with abstracts of the papers read.

WHEN the Council of the Sociological Society approved of the project of a Conference on the Correlation of the Social Sciences, and Oxford was chosen as place, I looked forward eagerly to the event, both for the sake of the discussions, and as an opportunity of meeting the professed students of sociology from all parts of the country. During and since the war it had been impossible to measure the growth of the sociological movement: the younger people were unknown quantities: there might be many fresh minds at work on sociological problems, with valuable contributions to make. If such existed, a Conference would almost certainly bring them to light. At Oxford itself the moment seemed specially favourable, as there had lately been much discussion there over the correlation of the subjects included in the new (modern) Greats School.

THERE were rather formidable difficulties over the date of meeting, and I fear that the days finally chosen were not very convenient, either for Oxford or for many of the other Universities and Colleges. Probably a number of those interested were thus prevented from attending: there is, however, no reason to suppose that the gathering was not representative in character—representative, that is, of sociology as it stands in this country to-day. On this supposition it is interesting to analyse the membership of the Conference, which, as I see it, falls into classes thus:—

1. TEACHERS and students of the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics.
2. THE Leplay House group, some more interested in sociological theory, and others in civic applications of sociology.
3. A GROUP of Anthropologists, approaching sociology through their interest in social institutions and social development.
4. A NUMBER of individuals interested in particular social sciences, and desirous of looking at these broadly and in relation to other studies.

THIS classification may not be exhaustive, but will serve as a rough indication. It does not look as if sociology is to obtain a place in the sun in this country for a year or two yet.

So much then for the character of the gathering; and now for the discussions. I have used the word "appreciation" because I cannot undertake to give either an extended account or a systematic summary. What follows is a record of ideas apparent in, or suggested by, the discussions, to me: it cannot be comprehensive, and the point of view and emphasis must differ from that of many others who took part. It is personal, and intended to stimulate interest and discussion rather

than to present final conclusions. As a means to the same end I have printed the papers which make up the second part of this article, not in the order in which they were read at the Conference, but in a sequence corresponding to that which the discussions appeared to be working towards or hinting at. This sequence, if understood, would go far to solve the central problem to which the Conference addressed itself; I shall therefore devote the rest of my space to its exposition.

It seemed to be generally (if a little vaguely) accepted that geography, as the study of the natural environment of human communities, is basic in social science. Exactly how and why it takes this position was not seriously discussed; had it been, I think there could hardly have followed agreement. As it was, however, no one questioned the idea that climate, physical conformation, river-systems, and so on, have an important influence upon the life of societies; and the possibility of correlation between geography and the other social sciences was therefore established.

In the case of biology there seemed throughout to be a good deal of confusion between two processes that appear to me to be very different—the taking over into one science of results achieved in another, and the assimilation of one science to another in method and outlook. I hasten to say that this confusion was not due to the excellent opening paper, but to the lack in many minds of previous thought on correlation. The attention given to the question of intelligence tests is an example; the general conclusions to be drawn from these tests have to be taken account of in several social sciences: but to do so is not the same thing as to assimilate psychology to other social sciences in method and outlook.

THE central biological question which appeared as a result of the discussion was somewhat on these lines:—Can it be held that man in society acts in ways similar to those followed by all other living organisms? Do we see in him the working of the same great vital functions as govern the activities of other organisms? If so, how are we to account for the whole of civilisation and culture—politics, religion, and art? Are these examples of the working of the organic functions, or (as has often been asserted) do new and different factors enter in? If the latter idea is to prevail, correlation between biology and the social sciences seems very difficult—indeed impossible, except in quite a partial sense; but the former view would at once postulate a complete correlation, sociology becoming (as suggested by Mr. Huxley) in a sense a department or extension of biology.

In answering these questions, it was obvious that modern psychology could give material assistance. It would have been helpful if more time could have been given to a discussion of the biological aspects of psychology, as several of the suggestions made deserved to be

worked out fully. It was evident that recent work, particularly in the sphere of psycho-analysis, has brought about a new orientation in psychology and made it possible to see all mental activities as extensions of vital functioning. I cannot gather that this view has been fully worked out as yet, and its general acceptance will require much time: it appeared, however, to give a clear indication—the only indication disclosed in the discussions—of a central line of correlation. Two other ideas of importance were put forward in the region of psychology. One is the correlation of social activities and institutions with the results of physical anthropology—the development, in fact, of a new racial psychology. The other is the reference of myth, legend, and custom, as well as art and literature, to the same process of examination in the light of the organic functions, and the investigation (already begun) of how these take on sublimated and spiritualised forms. In this way could be established a correlation with Social Anthropology: and it need hardly be said that such a correlation would include the views of institutions and material culture held by that science, as well as its studies of mental culture. We should have, indeed, a scheme or construction in which, starting from the primary biological functions, we should trace a continuous development through the primary tendencies of the mind, and their sublimated and spiritualised forms, to all the specialised associations and institutions of our modern life, and the material buildings, places, tools, implements, and products in which these find their embodiment. Here, in regard to distribution at any rate, we are in the field of Human Geography. And moreover, as was several times pointed out, the plan of a city shows us the developed biological functions in their actual relation and correlation.

So far as I am concerned the Conference cleared up satisfactorily the relations between the studies so far dealt with, and established a definite and central correlation between them. I can set this out here in ascending order:—

1. GEOGRAPHY in its physical aspects.
2. BIOLOGY.
3. PSYCHOLOGY (a) as study of mental construction and operation.
(b) as study of the contents of the "social mind."
4. SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.
5. GEOGRAPHY in its human aspect.

I HAVE said nothing about History as yet. It will be seen, however, that if Social Anthropology and Human Geography are interpreted (as I have interpreted them) to cover all social life, civilised as well as uncivilised, the whole field is already occupied. History thus becomes a convenient general term, including a number of other social sciences: but the conception of a special historical method, and a special historical

field, so far as valid, would be incorporated in the above studies taken at their largest possible extension.

So far all is plain sailing: it is far otherwise with the rest of the social sciences included within the Conference programme—Economics, Political Science, Jurisprudence, and Social Philosophy. The papers given on these subjects were very interesting and full of suggestions: the discussions did not fail in these respects; but I could see no clear line leading towards correlation of these sciences with each other or with those already mentioned. At the same time it was possible to learn something of the method and outlook at present prevailing in each of these subjects: and to consider where lies the difficulty in their case which does not exist, or is less felt, in the case of the former group. As I see the situation, the more important difficulties are the following:—

1. THERE is much uncertainty and even confusion about the field actually covered by these sciences. Jurisprudence touches the interpretation of the law of the land—a very special and separate study; but it has a philosophical side, and is also [*e.g.*, in the work of Maitland and Vinogradoff] a study of fundamental social institutions, closely related to social Anthropology. Economics includes the first-hand observation of economic institutions, and also the very abstract mathematical theory of economics. Political science, as presented at the Conference (and, I take it, as now conceived in Oxford) is akin to sociology in many respects; but in many minds it seems to imply nothing more than a study of the facts of constitutional history.
2. THE exponents of the sciences in question hold or assume views of human nature which were in vogue before modern biology and psychology had been developed. I do not suggest that this was the case with the readers of the Conference papers: but the discussions clearly could not rid themselves of influences which I trace to this source. None of us could quite remove from our minds the images of the Economic Man who haunts the pages of the older economics text-books, or of the Political Animal assumed by some past exponents of Political Science, or of the law-making, law-abiding, and law-breaking creature formerly presented by Jurisprudence. It is of course unfair to use language which suggests that these past concepts are entirely mistaken or negligible. True and valuable in their day and up to a point, they are now an obstacle to correlation because not viewed in relation to one another or to the central activities of human life. We must make over again our ideas in these fields of study, by starting from the other end and asking ourselves—Given human nature, as the biologists and psychologists see it, how do law, politics, and economic activities as we know them arise from it? Can these great tracts of the life of civilised man be linked with the great biological functions?—or must something else be brought in to explain

them? Can the methods of the anthropologist be applied vigorously to the economic and political processes of Western Europe? How far in these fields, and in the current theories about them, have we matter for the psychologist and mythologist?

3. THESE sciences raise more acutely than the others one of the central problems of sociology, thus:—Can we expect from sociology any general ideal laws of society, comparable in range and fundamental character to the great generalisations of the physical sciences? This question was raised specifically in the paper on Jurisprudence, and was one of the issues in the discussion on Philosophy. I believe there was agreement that sociology should work towards such generalisations, but there was plainly no agreement as to the kind of generalisation that will emerge. On one side it is believed that factual generalisations are attainable: on the other that the fundamental generalisations in sociology are moral in character; and both sides plainly have ideas on method and approach in sociology to correspond. Here at any rate is one subject of importance which might be discussed in full at a future Conference or meeting of the Sociological Society.

ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON.

GEOGRAPHY: by Sir Halford Mackinder, M.A., M.P.

GEOGRAPHY is an independent subject of study. What may be described as Pure Geography (after the analogy of Pure Mathematics) is not a branch of Sociology.

GEOGRAPHY answers the questions "Where?" and "Why there?" in regard to the Surface of the Earth. This so-called surface is not, of course, a mathematical surface; it has a certain thickness.

GEOGRAPHY when it answers the question "Where?" is a Geometrical study. There are two categories of answer to the question "Why there?" If I stand on a mountain summit I am there because the mountain holds me up and also because I climbed there. The first answer is static, or in the large sense dynamic; the second answer is genetic, or historical. Pure Geography is concerned with the geometrical and the dynamic, but not with the genetic.

THE distinction between dynamic and genetic is not the same as that between Physical and Human Geography. A coral reef and a breakwater may each form a harbour, but their genesis is different. Notwithstanding their different origin a reef and a breakwater may play identical parts in the balances of distributional forces at a given moment. Considered from this point of view a city is as much a physical fact as a bed of coal or an ant's nest. The Suez Canal is for dynamic purposes as much a strait as the Bosphorus.

PURE GEOGRAPHY is concerned with the present. Its function is to analyse distribution on the surface of the Earth as determined by the balance of a system of forces. It must be remembered that not merely shapes but also circulations (which in a sense have shapes) are the subject of such a dynamic study.

THUS Pure Geography has for its prime object description, whether by map or in language. It has no humane or subjective bias. Men and men's works come within its scope as being distributed and as entering into the balance of forces which determine distribution at a given moment.

GEOGRAPHY necessarily studies the whole surface of the Earth because on the surface of a sphere you cannot have a closed balance of forces, and therefore of distribution, unless you take the whole into account.

MIXED GEOGRAPHY is concerned with the genetic answer to the question "Why there?" In other words the geographer here postulates the results of geological and historical research. Unless you frankly recognise this fact the geologist and historian will claim geography as merely a part of their own subjects and will fail to see that there is an independent subject of geography whose contribution to Mixed Geography is at least as great as are the contributions of history and geology.

In school teaching no one would desire pedantically to separate Pure from Mixed Geography, but at the University the distinction should not be disregarded. If you there treat Geography as merely one of the Social Sciences, to be taught and learnt incidentally, the geographer will not be able to bring an independent criticism to the Sociological Symposium. He should set out on his geographical studies with no thought of human environments.

MAY I suggest that there is no ground for regarding Pure or Descriptive Geography as on a lower plane than Mixed or Genetic Geography. Space is just as wonderful as Time. The structure of the atom, to take an example from physics, is just as interesting as the evolution of species. Who shall say which is the higher attribute of the Deity, the all-pervading or the everlasting?

OF course, the whole of this discussion has only a practical significance. Philosophically all knowledge is one. On the one hand the geographer seeks to describe a given Natural Region, on the other hand the sociologist tries to depict a given society. It is in the stage of observation and description that subjects stand apart, because of the need of a specially trained aptitude whether with given instruments, such as the microscope or the test tube, or with a given mode of thought and vocabulary. When you pass to the philosophical stage, when you try to see the adaptation of the well and truly described society to the well and truly and independently described region, then you soar above so-called subjects into the undivided heaven of thought.

BIOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY: by Mr. Julian Huxley, M.A.

BIOLOGY should, by definition, cover the whole of life, and therefore include Sociology. Commonly, however, the attributes of man which mark him off from other organisms are excluded from Biology, and we shall use the term in this sense. Our problem is, therefore, to find what principles, if any, are common both to biology and sociology—i.e., to the single science, not yet defined, which theoretically should exist to embrace both.

BIOLOGY can throw more light on most evolutionary principles, since man is a biologically young type, as well as a special case. It can also obviously give us more information on comparative physiology. On the other hand, since man is the highest organism known, an analysis of the factors that have led to his pre-eminence will be of importance for biology. Further, since man possesses a mind more highly developed than, and of a different type from any other animal, general psychology can best be approached from a study of human mind.

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THE study of physiological biology has enabled us to lay down several very important points. Firstly, organisms are made of the same matter as inorganic bodies. Secondly, they work by virtue of the same energy, whose conservation holds good for them as for the energy of inorganic systems. There is thus, so far as matter and energy go, a complete unity of life and not-life. There is no reason to doubt that life has arisen from inorganic matter, and is constituted by a particular and very complex arrangement of certain elements of that matter.

THUS sociology can be studied with the assurance that it is correlated with other sciences, both organic and inorganic, and will be found to interlock with them into a coherent whole.

EVOLUTIONARY biology has a more direct bearing upon sociology.

(1) It has been found impossible to decide, from a study of human affairs alone, whether progress has occurred or not. A study of biological evolution, however, shows definitely that progress has occurred, and enables us to define it. There is a constant direction observable in evolution, and this we are entitled to call progressive, because on the whole it coincides with our ideas of what is good, and brings into being more of what appears to us to have value. It consists in the steady raising of the maximum level (and to a lesser extent of the average level) of certain qualities possessed by organisms. These are to be summed up as greater control over and greater independence of environment. More specifically, they are increased efficiency of parts, greater size and length of life, better co-ordination between parts, contact with a wider environment in space and time, and greater intensity of mental process. In the fact of biological progress may be found a sanction for certain intellectual elements of religion.

ALTHOUGH raising of the maximum level occurs, lower types persist, and non-progressive and degenerative evolution also regularly occurs. Here biological observation corrects the more ideal view of progress often held on *a priori* or emotional grounds.

(2) BIOLOGY also makes important contributions to the theory of the relation between the individual and the community. There are two tendencies to be seen acting throughout evolution, one towards the specialisation of existing organic units, the other towards the aggregation of existing units to form units of a higher order. Within these latter the constituent units show a progressive specialisation and less of individuation, accompanying higher organisation of the larger unit (*e.g.*, the cells in our own body; polyps in Siphonophora; ants in an ant colony).

Now a general study of biological evolution makes it clear (a) that "higher" or "lower" organisms can be defined in terms of the progressive direction referred to above; (b) that specialisation of parts and greater co-ordination within a unit is one of the chief hall-marks of the higher type; (c) that once aggregation has occurred, the organisation of the higher-grade unit thus formed is of prime importance for biological success.

IN man, it is obvious without further analysis that the individual is a more highly specialised unit than the community; the well-developed individual human being is, as a matter of fact, the biologically highest type of organism yet evolved.

THEREFORE, on the one hand, it appears that we should not subordinate the individual to the State, since in so doing we should be degrading the biologically higher type for the advantage of an organic unit which appears to have no prospects of reaching anything like the same level; but, on the other hand, that we must do so if we are to be biologically successful, and often even to survive.

THE solution of this *impasse* is to be found in man's mental structure. Man is unique, for owing to the flexibility of his mental processes he can do what no other organism is capable of. He can at one moment perform the functions of a highly-specialised subordinate, and at another can act as an individual, complete in itself, utilising the community for its own ends. THUS man can be successively a specialised subordinate unit and a complete dominant individual; and in this lies his biological salvation, and the reconciliation of many apparently conflicting political theories.

(3) ONE very important biological field from which false sociological conclusions have often been drawn is that concerning the methods of evolution, in particular the struggle for existence. As is well known, this idea has been made the philosophic basis for various political doctrines, such as militarism, free competition and *laissez-faire*. As a matter of fact, as Ritchie, Kropotkin and others have shown, and as Darwin himself admitted, aggregation followed by co-operation of units has been equally important in progressive evolution with the struggle for existence between separate and non-co-operating units; and indeed, after a certain stage in the development of the separate units, has been the only avenue to further progress.

THE struggle for existence has not ceased in man, but is becoming increasingly restricted to ideas and to traditions; this enables more rapid progress to be made with less waste of life. Biology points unhesitatingly to some form of federation or union of existing units as the proper path for human evolution to take.

(4) THE two prime distinctions between man and other animals are his powers of generalising and the flexibility of his mind and his consequent educability. It is these that have given him his biological pre-eminence. Consequently, we can be assured that the reference to practice of general theories is valuable; and also that in any large and growing organisation, a flexible is preferable to a rigid system.

To sum up, we may say that biological investigation frequently provides the touchstone of ascertained fact which is necessary to distinguish false from true sociological speculations; and further, that it can be of great value in broadening the basis on which speculation rests, and providing an external sanction for ideas which would otherwise suffer from the uncertainty of subjectivity.

PSYCHOLOGY: by Prof. Spearman, Ph. D.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES.

THE purpose of this Conference, namely, the co-operation between the different social sciences, at once suggests topics in very great variety and importance. But for the great majority of these, there are known to be already several highly competent authorities in the field. Here, accordingly, the selection will be made of a topic for discussion that appears to have attracted little or no notice and nevertheless to be fraught with no slight consequences.

THE science basic to all those that can be called social is without doubt psychology. Now, this latter has in the last few years made extraordinary progress in one particular direction, that of measuring individual differences. As the largest triumph on these lines, may be quoted the testing of the so-called "general intelligence." The application of this is no longer restricted to groups of children here and there; it is being rapidly extended to nearly the whole childhood of nations, and to no small part even of the adults. A gigantic instance, both of such testing as also of its justification

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by results, was that which dealt with the bulk of the American Army, some 1,700,000 men. Only last year, in our own country, similar tests were used in the examination of about 30,000 candidates for the Civil Service, and again they were fully justified by subsequent inquiry. To all this determination of "general intelligence" must be added the more and more successful measurements being made of "specific aptitudes." Even character, that most elusive of all mental qualities, is now at last beginning to submit itself to exact investigation.

ALL in all, we appear to have before us the prospect of a new situation, one where every person's ability of every kind and fitness to take any part in social life is going to be definitely known. The question inevitably arises, as to how far and in what manner this new situation will influence society. And if we assume that the function of the social sciences includes, not merely the recording of the past but also the anticipating of the future, and not only the reflecting on conditions familiar to history but also the spying out of new conditions looming ahead, then this question would seem to be one that the social sciences ought already to face.

AND hereby reference is not intended solely, or even chiefly, to any matters of mere convenience. Much may, no doubt, be expected on this head also. The life of many a man, and woman too, will in this new situation be so fitly adjusted to his or her nature as to spell success where previously it would have meant failure. One of the hardest tasks of higher officials or of industrial employers, that of selecting the right person for the right work, will be immensely facilitated. In this way a very large step will have been taken towards weakening the universal social incubus of unemployment. Even the blighting policy of *ca'canny* will receive some check, in the annulment of its present strongest plea; for this urges that the more efficient workers should set a slow pace in order not to overstrain the less efficient; but with proper adjustment of man to job, the less efficient will be diverted to some other work for which they do possess competence.

OVER and above any such progress, however, which amounts after all to no more than a re-oiling and re-bracing of the old social machine, is there no possibility of having to build some considerable part of it anew? If the relative fitness of every person for every position in life becomes definitely known, will those who receive far less than their deserts remain content to put up with their treatment? Will not even the general voice of the nation, especially under the stress of keen competition with other nations, become more and more intolerant of palpable misfitings? Will it not be inclined, rather, to urge that its ultimate source of all power and prosperity, the minds of its citizens, should be employed to the greatest general advantage? And such claims seem likely to be pressed with increasing thoroughness; the demand for full utilization of the available mental resources may be pursued beyond the range of adult age, on the ground that by this time most of the possible mischief has already been done. Instead, the quest after national economy may be pushed back into early childhood. If all citizens are really to be given a fair chance, they must be put under approximately equal conditions from the start.

BUT herewith is opened up a very strange prospect indeed. As the individual aptitudes of the children become more and more definitely ascertained, there will ensue a gradually increasing differentiation in their treatment. Some will have indicated that their proper social function is that of rulership or discovery; others will have shown themselves fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. For such respective functions they will accordingly receive their further education; and such places they must in the end actually assume in society.

At this stage, the most alarming questions present themselves. Will this new hierarchy, thus based solely on intrinsic merit, coincide at all passably with the existing hierarchy based upon present social status? Or will there not, rather, be eventually effected a profound redistribution?

A FINAL speculation is perhaps more comforting. If such a peaceful revolution does indeed supervene, is it not of precisely the kind to satisfy whatever is legitimate in the now seething and menacing surge of communism, whilst it proportionately disarms whatever in it is fallacious, baleful, and even suicidal?

ANTHROPOLOGY: by Dr. R. R. Marett, M.A.

At a sociological conference it will not be necessary to insist on the theoretical unity, or rather continuity, of the cultural history of Man. The point to discuss is rather how to bring about the practical realisation of this principle by inducing the workers in the vast field of research to adopt common aims and methods. Anyone who calls himself an anthropologist will be prepared to admit that his science is scarcely able to live up to its name. Whereas its titular authority extends over the whole subject of Man, its interest is effectively restricted to the primitive, or rudimentary, forms of human culture. This was virtually unoccupied territory until the anthropologist acquired squatter's rights over it. Here then, he has all along been free to develop a method of his own. On the other hand, had he likewise claimed to interpret what Lecky calls "the European epoch of the human mind"—in a word, our civilisation—a host of rivals, representatives of the old-established humanities, would have denounced him as an upstart. Prudently, then, the anthropologist has tended to resign to others the study of civilised society except in so far as it exhibits certain primitive features classed as folk-lore. Hence it is from the outside, as it were, that he approaches the question how the history of the highest developments of culture is to be brought into line with his own account of its lowlier phases. Indeed, he had best content himself with stating what his own present methods are, leaving it to the student of civilisation to decide for himself whether an analogous procedure is desirable in his own case.

OF the anthropology of the last century, it might be said with much truth that it was dominated by the fallacious notion of a unilinear evolution. Political organisation, law, religion, fine art, and so on were provided each with a typical development to which every part of the primitive world was supposed to bear equal witness; one stage in the process being illustrated from China and the next from Peru. Moreover, it invariably turned out that the crowning achievement in any particular direction lay to the credit of modern Europe. By working on these lines it was easy to keep in touch with the student of civilisation, since his was the strictly parallel function of describing the butterfly after it had emerged from its anthropological chrysalis. During the present century, however, there has been a growing tendency among anthropologists to lay stress on what may be termed cultural context. A given custom, to be truly understood, must be viewed in the light of what Dr. Farnell calls "the adjacent anthropology." The primitive world is to-day envisaged as a scattered array of cultural units, each area of characterisation displaying its own typical form together with manifold aberrant variations. Between the several units culture-contact takes place and is indeed held to be the mainspring of decisive change. Yet, despite such inter-communications, each unit maintains its self-identity, thanks to the fact that it assimilates some contributions and as freely rejects others. Thus it is the individuality as it were of this or that co-existent form of primitive culture which the modern anthropologist especially tries to seize.

With this end in view he prefers to consider the economics, politics, law, religion and so forth not apart but together, as the joint expression of the soul-life manifesting itself in and through such and such a culture-complex. He scarcely troubles to frame a scheme of cultural correlation in general, and in reference thereto to grade as higher or lower the culture-complexes themselves or the constituent activities considered abstractly. A certain relativism tempers his comparativist zeal. No doubt certain forms of culture are less enduring than others and may be classed as lower in this sense; though the facts of folk-lore suggest that it is by no means the most complex civilisations which have the firmest hold on existence. On the other hand, it seems to the modern anthropologist that any form of culture, so long as it lasts, is good for those who prefer to live by it. His leading method, therefore, is to seek to enter into the special outlook of the people concerned on the assumption that, if the inner need be made known, the means taken to satisfy it can for the most part be justified. Thus, for the primitive world, at all events, a diversity of cultures is regarded as a normal feature of the social life of Man—one that implies a certain centrifugal tendency causing culture as a whole to fluctuate at least as much as it evolves. THE question which the foregoing considerations suggest is whether the student of civilisation of the European type may not find it expedient to deal with it in a less wholesale way and with more attention to those profound divergencies of ethnic genius which its superficial uniformities tend to mask but are not likely to suppress. One has but to study the folk-lore of the civilised nations to realise how greatly their psychology differs. A corollary to this would be that each ethnological study of a particular people ought to present a conspectus of their cultural activities, so that the economics, law, religion, science, art, and the rest should be treated as the outcome of the common soul-life peculiar to that people. In the practical politics of to-day one seems to discern an increasing toleration of ethnic idiosyncrasies. So too, then, in the sphere of social science, it might be well to look less for lines of progress converging towards a universal civilisation, and instead to face the fact that the actual world in its civilised no less than its uncivilised aspect is what William James would call a "multiverse" of experimental forms of culture, none stable, none truly dominant and final, but variously directed towards a seeming good that has as many facets as there are individual lives.

HISTORY: by F. S. Marvin, M.A.

WHAT is History? The name an old and vague one. Compare "mathematics." Herodotus' *ἱστορία* = enquiries; mathematics = what is known. History what is enquired about, in the most obvious sense—stories—happenings, especially to men. This expressed in the corresponding German word *Geschichte* from *Geschehen*.

THE course of human thought could be traced in the parallel development of these two sides of knowledge. "Mathematics" the measureable, exact, settled. "History" the changing, the subjective, the matter of constant enquiry. "HISTORY" retains this vague developing connotation. This quite properly used of the account of one man's life, the history of Napoleon. But with the growth, and the growing solidification, of thought it has come to mean the whole of "the reasoned account of Man's evolution on earth." Each word in this definition implies an advance in theory and in accuracy. "Reasoned"—history is the fresh thinking out by each generation of the past, a fresh presentation, it is "art" built on science. Man's history proper relates to "Man," who is the time-binding animal, the only species

which develops a new present from a memory of the past. History is a social thing, an account of man in society. "Man" as a whole. "Evolution," implying progress, the unfolding of higher powers from their lower germinal forms. "On earth," *i.e.*, as we may find out the facts by scientific enquiry in the sphere of our known activities.

ACCEPTING this definition, it is at once clear that History is the central thread of social science; widely interpreted it embraces the whole. But for convenience of study, we need to distinguish the different aspects and preserve the autonomy of those sciences on which history is based. Thus to take the two succeeding subjects in this Conference, Geography and Biology, we have in them two great ranges of facts which condition human progress, but are not subject to Man's will. He works in the medium provided by external nature, which is a given thing to be studied on its own. His spirit gradually rises above it, and history then becomes more and more a spiritual thing based on matter. We should thus speak rather of geographical "conditions" than of geographical "control." And he is a part of all life, containing within him the vital phenomena of other life, but transforming it by a superior power of a generalizing kind, *i.e.*, Man creates a higher being, partly by bringing together in his mind the disparate facts of the world around him, partly and still more, by thinking and living increasingly in and for others. Here is the contact with psychology which appears as a science just as scientific history comes to birth.

HISTORY is thus in touch at the highest level with Ethics as it is on the lower with the sciences of nature. It is even more truly the evolution of Morality than it is an offshoot of Earth-knowledge. Yet we cannot merge Ethics in History. There is always something beyond, the ideal which Man's will tries constantly to realise but which is never given completely in History. THERE is a demonstrable moral progress in History, as there is an intellectual progress; but the goal, the standard of values, belong to another sphere. History is, in fact and most shortly, the story of social progress. It is well perhaps to keep the simple word and the more limited idea, because it leaves to the other and more comprehensive science of "sociology," the sphere of the general conclusions and the connexions between the various sciences which cluster round man's evolution. The distinction is not easy to make. Especially in England we have not yet been willing to recognise the validity of such a general science. History, in our usual parlance, embraces such parts of it as we are ready to admit.

BUT a distinction may be made and seems useful. History is a science. There is a science in our methods of enquiry, science in our connexion of cause and effect. But the most general aspects of any historical enquiry are best regarded as belonging to another sphere to which the term "sociological" is the most appropriate. Thus the history of Napoleon is a scientific study, if properly pursued—but the question of the conditions and general effect of the intrusion of an exceptional personality into a social process is a sociological one.

PAUL BARTH's statement in the title of his great work is quite acceptable, "The Philosophy of History is Sociology."

ECONOMICS: by Prof. W. J. Roberts.

1. THE supposed practical character of Economic inquiry and the idea of Political Economy. Grounds for the limitation of economic discussion and the nature and consequences of the limits actually recognised and observed. The assumptions upon which economic inquiry thus limited proceeds.

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2. THE "economic man" and his "psychology." The bearing of methodical psychological inquiry upon economics and the possibility of conducting psychological inquiry within the domain commonly regarded as economic.
3. THE place of the institutional life of mankind in economic inquiry. The importance here of adequate general notions of association, law, State, &c.
4. HISTORY and Economics: "the economic interpretation of history." History as a method of explanation of events and as an occasion or source of general notions.
5. GEOGRAPHY and economic conditions and motives. What Knowledge of geographical method might be regarded at present as an indispensable minimum.
6. ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY and the relation between philosophical inquiries and economic science. The formulation of the elements of problems and the bearing upon this, in particular, of philosophical, mathematical and legal training.
7. SOME suggestions for an educational curriculum based on the above considerations.

POLITICAL SCIENCE: by the Rev. Dr. A. J. Carlyle, M.A.

I. The distinctive subjects of Political Science.

1. The forms and methods of the institutions of the State.
2. The ideas of which these are the forms.

II. THE method of Political Science.

1. Historical and Analytical.
2. Philosophical.

III. THE relation of Political Science to the other Social Sciences.

1. Biology, Psychology, Geography and Economics give us in the first place an account of factors in human life which are in some degree outside of human control. The Animal organism. The qualities of the human mind. The physical conditions of human life. The productive powers of nature. THESE must be known, or man may endeavour to do the impossible.

I DO not here consider the reaction of Social and Political conditions on any of these.

2. It is from Anthropology and History that we learn what has been the actual process of the development of human society and political organisation.
3. Law represents the great conventions which experience has shown to have been necessary for social and political life.

IT represents the ideas and experience of the past. Politics may be said to represent the movement of ideas which is continuously modifying and changing law.

4. Philosophy, in its relation to Politics, deals with the conceptions of the ends or purposes of life, without which all political movements and actions are blind and meaningless.

FOR I think that we shall agree, even if we differ about some of the ends, that without an end or purpose there can be no rational life in political society, any more than in the individual.

LAW AS A SOCIAL SCIENCE : by Prof. J. E. G. de Montmorency.

My contribution to this important Conference on the Correlation of the Social Sciences must be rather a supplement to Dr. Marett's paper on Anthropology than an original contribution. I say this advisedly for, from my point of view, the science of anthropology is the only science that can supply the material which is essential to the right study of the bases of law. I hold, and have elsewhere argued at length,⁽¹⁾ that human law is something not other in its ultimate nature than the laws which are implicit in the manifestations of inorganic and organic matter. It appears to me that *a priori* there is a common basis for the "laws" of nature and the "laws" of man to the extent, at any rate, that there is a persistent and active orderliness in human consciousness of the same nature as the orderliness in the relation of particles of matter or the orderliness that Life introduces into the arrangement of those particles. There are, in my view, principles of human law as implicit in the manifestations of human consciousness as the principles formulated by Newton and Mendel are implicit respectively in the manifestations of all inorganic and organic matter.

Now this is an *a priori* argument and it is as necessary that it should be tested in the world of phenomena as it is necessary that the validity of the Newtonian laws or of the theory of Relativity should be tested by such phenomena as are revealed by eclipses of the sun. It is difficult to test the *a priori* laws of motion, test in any ultimate fashion. For most minds it is sufficient to see that in an apparently Euclidean space the Newtonian laws are apparently obeyed. It may be that those laws have not universal application : it may be that the space about which we are accustomed to reason is a mirage after all, a fleeting vision of some nobler non-Euclidean reality of which Time is the fourth dimension. But in any case the great Cambridge thinker gave us working rules, great generalisations from experience, which meet all ordinary tests. It is true that we cannot prove their validity, it is also true that we may prove their invalidity in the finer approximations to geometrical truth ; but the rules or laws, at any rate, mark an epoch in human evolution. The same goal is in view with respect to the phenomena which we observe and class together as human laws and customs. From a very limited knowledge of those phenomena it is possible to advance the *a priori* theory that they are the manifestations of invariable laws of human consciousness, and even now it is possible to indicate in some vague manner what these invariable laws are. But until writers such as Sir James Fraser, Dr. Marett and others who are now working and have long worked—and I am especially thinking of the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, taken, so untimely, from the task—can supply the correlated material, it will not be possible to formulate with any Newtonian universality and sharpness of definition the Human Laws of Motion. That is why I say that anything that I contribute to this Conference is but supplementary to what Dr. Marett has said. Moreover it has to be remembered that such laws or rules, if formulated, are at the mercy of some theory of relativity in the realms of consciousness.

YET it would be idle to deny that already we are in a position to arrive at some approximate foundation of laws. The Law of Nature as it is called, has, through many centuries been detected, by jurists, and judges as operating in the manifestations of human law. The Law of Human Nature is a reality, and one of the functions of the comparative study of law and of human institutions is to test, from a comparison of the raw material supplied by many races in many lands in many ages, whether this law of nature,

(1) THE NATURAL HISTORY OF LAW. Oxford University Press, 1921.

whether what I call the Human Laws of Motion, are invariable and have universal sway. So far as I have examined existing systems of law and existing bodies of custom I am inclined to think that the *a priori* argument may be supported by the objective material, and that even now it is possible to state, in a very rude, approximate form, these laws of motion. I state them (with much natural misgiving) in the following form:—

HUMAN LAWS OF MOTION.

1. A DOMINANT tendency of the individual man (in direct heredity from an earlier grade of being), is to strive so to regulate the group to which he belongs as to afford to the group and therefore to the individual a maximum protection from the environment.
2. WITHIN the group the relations of individuals are always tending towards stability of conduct, and this tendency is due to an evolving principle in consciousness which is represented by the phrase *Fides est Servanda*.
3. A DOMINANT tendency of a group which has attained some measure of corporate life is to strive so to regulate the sum total of groups to which it belongs as to afford to the aggregate of groups, and therefore to itself, a maximum of protection from its environment.

THE implications from such rules seem to me to lead direct to the main sociological problems of our age.

SOCIOLOGY AS A METHOD OF CORRELATION, by Professor
L. T. Hobhouse, LL.D., D.Litt., M.A.

1. SOCIOLOGY is one of the methods by which the human problem can be studied as a whole. Hence its range is too wide for individual capacity and it tends to break up into specialisms. Numerous sciences deal with some aspects of human life. Some, *e.g.*, economics, fall entirely within the social field. Others, *e.g.*, biology, form intersecting circles. There is a constant tendency on the part of such specialisms to enlarge their claims unduly. This Sociology has to resist. Its general hypothesis is that social life as a whole is a system of many interconnected parts, the relative importance of which probably varies in different cases and must certainly be decided by an impartial review of the whole. Sociology must take its results from each specialism, but subject to their adjustment to one another and so to the whole life of society which is its special interest.

2. SOCIOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

WHAT is the method of this adjustment? Is it philosophical? This view is strongly resisted by many who claim for Sociology the title of a pure science. But philosophy, while often contrasted with science, is not radically distinct. Both aim at an accurate, impartial, systematic interpretation of Reality. But philosophy in general is the attempt to deal with Reality as a whole, while the sciences have developed by concentrating on parts. In so doing they have foregone the treatment of some fundamental questions—of Ultimate Validity in thought, and of Value in dealing with life and mind. We may take this as the working distinction. The question between science and philosophy for our purposes turns therefore on the position of value. Is this the basis and the only possible basis in the social field, or is it to be excluded as irrelevant to the science of fact? ON the one side it may be said, social life consists of the interactions of human beings, with their conditions and consequences. Their immediate conditions are the impulses and purposes of men, and of any purpose it is equally legitimate to ask (*a*) how it arises and what it effects, which are

questions of fact; (b) whether it is wise and good or stupid and bad, which are questions of value. Similarly of the web of purposes in social life it is legitimate to enquire into causes and results, and into the element of goodness and wisdom or their opposites which may be discoverable. We cannot therefore rule out questions of value as inadmissible.

ON the other hand what is good and what is fact are unfortunately quite separate questions, and there is a strong tendency to confuse them to the prejudice of both. In particular, theories of Value are highly controversial. Hence it is urged that scientific treatment is impossible unless they are kept apart. We must find out what the life of society is, how it grows, changes and decays, not what it is worth.

3. DEVELOPMENT AS A MEDIATING CONCEPTION.

IF for these reasons we provisionally discard value, we may try the conception of Development as a basis for the correlation of social changes—not that all change is Development. But if it involves arrest or decay we so judge it by reference to some conception of Development. We speak of Development in Biology without reference to values, meaning apparently completeness of organisation and a certain enlargement of the scale of life. Can we form any similar conception for Society? A broad comparison indicates a certain correlation between advance of knowledge on the one side and the growth of communities in scale, efficiency and internal harmony (as measured by freedom and effective partnership) on the other. There may be advance in one of these directions with stagnation or retrogression in others—e.g., extension without efficiency, solidarity with narrow exclusiveness, etc. Complete development would be the advance in all three.

I SHOULD argue that such complete development involves the most ample and consistent fulfilment of human purposes and is therefore a rational end, or Good. Partial and one-sided developments may be good or bad as they affect the whole. Decay or disruption may be good if it breaks up a one-sided development and so makes room for others.

FURTHER the actual facts of development and the correlation of its several aspects may be studied by anyone without committing him to the above ethical theory.

THE elaboration of rational ends so as to apply them to social relations I take to be the work of Social Philosophy proper; the study of actual development and its conditions the work of sociological science, and a complete Sociology the union of the two.

THE science of social development requires the aid of all these specialisms to which reference has been made.

IN general the conditions of development are :—

- (1) ENVIRONMENTAL, since society must adapt itself to its physical environment, or the physical environment to itself.
- (2) BIOLOGICAL, since the unit of society is man and man is an animal.
- (3) PSYCHOLOGICAL, since man is still more emphatically a mind.
- (4) SOCIAL in the stricter sense, since social life consists in, and its structure is built up by, the interactions of men.

ALL studies bearing on these conditions are of value to the sociologist, whose business it is to use them to interpret the facts of development, arrest and decay, as he discovers them through historical and comparative investigation.

A NOTE ON THE CONFERENCE: by V. Branford.

THE problem of correlating the specialisms of social science is, as most serious students agree, central in the field of general sociology. It seems hardly too much to say that the question of a general science of sociology stands or falls with this matter of contriving a working correlation between the more specialized studies. Viewed from the standpoint of this vast issue, the Oxford Conference falls into perspective. It appears as but a step in a long march. A sociological society that did not keep this central problem steadily to the front, would be aiming wide of the mark. It may be useful to recall some of the steps taken by the Sociological Society in this route.

THE opening meeting of the Society in 1904 (when Galton launched his public campaign for Eugenics) was followed by two papers jointly presented by Durkheim and myself, outlining our views ON THE RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND TO PHILOSOPHY. Abstracts of these papers were sent for comment and criticism to most of the leading sociologists in Europe. Their contributions along with the papers are printed in Vol. I. of SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS. In reply to criticisms there made, Durkheim promised a second paper, which unfortunately he did not live to write. The sequel to my own paper was delayed 18 years, and appears in the October number of the REVIEW for the current year, being my written contribution to the Oxford Conference.

AMONGST other contributions one finds (running a casual eye through the file of our Society's publications) the following: the PREFACES to SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS, Vols. I. and II.; ON THE WORD SOCIOLOGY, and NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGY IN REPLY TO KARL PEARSON, in SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS, Vol. I.; Höffding ON THE RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO ETHICS; and SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES by J. Stuart Glennie, both of these in SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS, Vol. II.; in this volume and the previous one may also be noted as a concrete treatment, Geddes' two papers of CIVICS, AS APPLIED SOCIOLOGY. For illustration of the negative or sceptical treatment there is H. G. Wells' THE SO-CALLED SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY, in SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS, Vol. III. In the following volumes of the REVIEW there are articles (this list being by no means exhaustive): IV. Sister Nivedita, THINGS ONE EXPECTED OF A SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, with replies by J. A. Hobson and V. Branford; IX., W. H. Rivers, SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY; IX., S. H. Swinny, SOCIOLOGY, ITS SUCCESSES AND ITS FAILURES; P. Hughesden, THE PLACE OF SOCIOLOGY AMONGST THE SCIENCES; XII., W. Mann, THE REGIONAL ASSOCIATION AND ITS MODE OF WORK; XIII., V. Branford, EVERY MAN HIS OWN SOCIOLOGIST; S. H. Swinny, THE SOCIOLOGICAL SCHOOLS OF COMTE AND LE PLAY.

V. BRANFORD.

COMMUNICATIONS.

WEALTH AND WELFARE.*

THOUGH the title of this book adds "of the Punjab"—and must thus limit its circulation, especially in Britain, whose invincible ignorance of India persists, despite all urgency of need to mitigate it, as our writer peculiarly tends and helps to do—it is especially reviewed here as a real and solid contribution to economics, and of the kind most urgently needed by its students in this country, as well as India.

ECONOMICS, for Mr. Calvert, is not merely, or even mainly, the study of "the Market," ruled by its gods of "supply and demand." Nor does it turn upon "Manufactures and Commerce," as for Adam Smith; nor yet on "Capital," as since Ricardo; and yet as little on Marx's turning of those arguments outside in, towards the apotheosis of "Labour," meaning essentially the urban and mechanical proletariat, with resultant exasperation accordingly from Socialism since his publication, to Bolshevism to-day.

WHAT Mr. Calvert has done has been to recover for himself the essential truths of economics as seen by Vauban and the Physiocrats, from whom Adam Smith arose, and most unhappily departed, instead of developing as he should have done. In a word, his economics is fundamentally Rural economics: and from his first prefatory page he stoutly carries his war with the conventional urban economics into England as well as India—citing for the former also Mr. Collett—"The ignorance of the urban majority in this country on agricultural matters is so colossal and so genuine as almost to deserve respect."

He points out, too, for India—though also implicitly for Europe—that as "it is the townsman who will supply the province with its future councillors," it is time that he not only knew something of what rural economy means in life, and begins to mean anew in thought also, but that he changed his perspective accordingly; his politics thereby as well. Not of course by returning to the too slowly obsolescent-routine ignorance of the town-depressed and town-miseducated peasant, or the passive and senile conservatism still too prevalent among landed proprietors, and in India of course especially. The service of liberal and radical politics, and its traditional (more or less middle) "classical economics," has been to work out something of urban and commercial ways; and so far well. But as this has been accompanied by the persistent survival of the Italian Renaissance view of the country, as existing simply to feed and serve the city, its whole standpoint has thereby been vitiated; and its would-be scientific construction has thus to be rebuilt anew, and this upon the permanent physiocratic truth of the basal character of agriculture and food-supply—always and everywhere that on which town industries depend, as even the town population for its vital recruitment, and so often its leadership.

THE School of Economics in any and every University, is of course accustomed to imagine that it does justice to this; and at the very outset! Do we not say, "Land, Labour and Capital"? Of course; but only in such ways as to show no real grip or comprehension of the first: hence after this initial "coup de chapeau" to rural economics, our would-be general economists have gone on without contributing observations or ideas to the

*THE WEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE PUNJAB: Being some studies in Punjab Rural Economics: by H. Calvert, B.Sc., I.C.S. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Punjab. Author of THE LAW AND PRINCIPLES OF CO-OPERATION. Lahore. "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1922.

rural world, much less understanding this. For them the City—and as “the Market”—is the hub of the Universe: not the field; and when “Industries” are referred to, it is with the most naive omission of the fundamental industrial life of the children of men, and with as real a mental limitation to the exploits of the urban machine as that of the orphan child in the cotton factory. As its prison-house was one of the main centres of their would-be science, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that its professors have so well retained that child’s ignorance, and his psychology too—the classical in their docile submission—the socialistic in their mood of revolt.

It is not possible within these limits to do any justice to Mr. Calvert’s vigorous presentment of the rural perspective in economics: enough here to refer to the original. But that he is at home in the historical and the comparative fields, by way of which our economics has long been on the way towards reform, though too slowly, is evidenced by his appreciation of the best thought and work of Denmark, America and Ireland: as notably also by his useful presentment of the real economics of Japan, too little seen by those who merely see her as “Great Power,” or as “economic competitor.”

OUR writer has thus accomplished a great, and so far as the present reviewer knows, an essentially new work for one of the great provinces of India: one which may, it is to be hoped, serve as type for others, for other Provinces, and thus for the first time, at least in our day, may present India as she mainly is: one of the most predominantly agricultural of lands, in past, present, and even future, despite such development of other resources and industries as may be. When this view is given in the large; and along with “Village Surveys” such as those of Dr. Harold Mann alike as Bombay Director of Agriculture, and we may add as an active member of the Sociological Society, we shall then not only begin to know more of the real India, such as its people, their British rulers, and their new would-be replacers, all urbanist in immense majority, alike urgently need: and we shall even have fresh and useful impulse to the study of the whole empire—and even one helpful towards renewing the too urban economics and politics of its central isle.

TOWARDS realising our present state of backwardness alike in economic and social thought, and in the outlooks of administration and government accordingly, one or two illustrations may be taken—quite outside Mr. Calvert’s survey, which is of more modern character—but since conveniently well-known to British newspaper-readers. First, Mr. Gandhi—Who is this great and terrible agitator—lately so loyal to the British Raj as to have manfully recruited for the war, yet in post-war years branding the Indian government as “Satanic,” and organising “non-co-operation,” to its grave embarrassment accordingly? A true ascetic, and true idealist—a character thus impressive and attractive to the Indian mind beyond anything we in the modern west can imagine, though our legends of the saints show we were “once like Indians too.” Next a barrister, who can hold his own with the best; a journalist, the like as well. But his ideas? simply, frankly, and naively three, all Western ones—Mazzini’s vivid Nationalism, Tolstoi’s Non-Resistance, Ruskin’s Criticism of the Machine—industry, and its urban outcomes. Excellent ideas, each and all: but of 1860—not 1920; by which time there have arisen some more; unknown to Mr. Gandhi, or at any rate unutilised. The anxiety with which the Indian government and the British government too has looked at him, is thus essentially explicable in one way only, viz.: that their stock of working ideas is of still earlier date; and that they are thus still more immune to later social economic and political thought, than can be Mr. Gandhi! Mr. Calvert’s service is thus

to present some of these later ideas : and the persistence of the present "steel framework" of India—to use Mr. Lloyd George's not entirely happy phrase, though all too true—depends, more than either government at present realises, on introducing a more modern and organic—vital—rural brain-framework as well. An easy matter—since the mental outfit and outlook of the Indian educated classes, now of such increasing insistence, is for the most part, and in principle, about as antiquated as our own, since what our Colleges and their wretchedly inadequate libraries have given him.

ONE more illustration—still outside Mr. Calvert's, but helpful to understanding his view, message and method—what of the yet more terrible Bolsheviks, in these years the bogey of Europe, and not without reason ? Again the exponents of a vivid contribution to urban economics, also two generations back, and about contemporary with that other most world-shaking book *THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES*—Karl Marx's *CAPITAL*. Why then this inability of thought and action alike to deal with this relatively small, but intensive group of ideopraxists ?—who have not only so effectively demolished their older urban system, but so substantially upset the rural economy of Russia as well, and are thus so largely (though not exclusively) responsible for the present débâcle and one of the great famines of history. Does not the essential explanation of all failures to combat them lie in the invincible ignorance of such better and later thought and work as has been growing up since 1860 ; as so notably that of American, Danish, and Irish and French rural economists, though not of these alone ? Enough, then, to justify the satisfaction with which we hail this contribution to Indian rural economics, and plead for its wide and careful reading.

BUT it may be said, are we therefore to neglect urban economics as the Physiocrats undeniably too much did, to their supersession accordingly by the successive urban schools, Smithian, Ricardian or Marxian ? By no means. During the past eight years, the present reviewer's work in India has been well-nigh exclusively limited to the study of towns and cities, now some fifty and more, over the length and breadth of this immense land : but in such survey, in interpretation, and in planning, whether for housing, for urban industries, or towards cultural developments, he has found exactly no help whatever in the usual English urban and academic economic literature, with the single and honourable exception of Prof. Marshall's *INDUSTRY AND TRADE*—a book which he also cannot over-recommend, as our best example of the economist moulting from the old type towards the sociologist of the new, even though yet too little awakened to the neo-Physiocratic revolution in progress.

HERE, then, we may leave Mr. Calvert to fight his own battle. To those of us who have learned their rural economics in other and largely older or later schools, from Xenophon to Le Play, Demolins, &c., there are grounds for difference from Mr. Calvert. His world-commercialisation of agriculture has still the taint of the urban market theories upon it ; and in his isolation he does not seem to have come upon the ever-increasing world-movement towards regionalism, with its more vital co-ordination of country and town. Again, though himself a sower and leavener, a steady organiser of co-operation throughout his province—in fact, its Horace Plunkett as far as may be—he yet remains somewhat conventional, not to say commonplace, in his otherwise excellent pleading for agricultural education—overlooking, for instance, that most simple and inexpensive of its resources, the school garden—though that offers the readiest of escapes from the too essentially cram and thus sham instruction, with the current and world-wide verbalistic empaperment so characteristic of our period, and nowhere more than in what is magniloquently called "Indian Education."

YET such are but minor differences, compared with that general change from the urban to the rural perspective in economics which Mr. Calvert in the main so well expresses: and if he can convert his often too steely colleagues in India, and help to do something of the like at home, such further developments of rural economics, from education up (or down) to politics, will not be long of coming. P.G.

VITALISM, RATIONALISM, AND MECHANISM.*

WHAT are the conditions of a more satisfactory organisation of society? How far can it be effected by the use of "reasonable" considerations by a majority or an effective minority? To what extent does it require some deep change of heart or will which shall issue in the determination to sacrifice anything standing in the way of realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth?

MR. J. A. HOBSON's way towards a solution is that of Rationalism while that of Mr. Penty is more imaginative and emotional. It must be admitted that recent and current experience seems to show that the way of "reason" is not that which really appeals to the peoples of Western Europe. Mr. Hobson shows us how reasonable it would be for a new Industrial Order to arise in which public ownership and control were combined with representative government of the workers concerned. That under such a system with its tendency towards greater equalisation of incomes we need not fear that sufficient savings for capital investment would not be made. Much slack and waste of the present system might be obviated and a smaller proportion of saving out of a larger total output would be sufficient. The trouble at the root of periodic times of depression is the accumulation of too much capital by the rich together with under consumption which such a system would tend to obviate. He would restrict Public Banking to certain safe lines and leave High Finance and adventurous trading to private hands as too difficult for any other.

THE socialised trades would be capitalised by bonds at fixed interest secured by the State.

THE Public Banks would be advised by a National Council of Industry. Short of the complete "Social Ownership," in certain directions such as mines and railroads he recognises the following as other forms of the new order.

- (2) GUILD ownership and management in certain trades where machine production is not the dominant factor.
- (3) CAPITALISM qualified by profit-sharing and co-partnership.
- (4) CAPITALISM limited by Wage Boards and adequate provision against unemployment.

IN reply to the question as to how these reforms will work in the direction of greater productivity, Mr. Hudson looks to evolving a certain *esprit de corps* through the common interests of small groups on which he considers the organisation may well be based.

HE concludes by pointing out the danger in any such system of ignoring the interests of consumers and the need for some organisation of consumers to remedy this, and ultimately for the State, as representing the consumers, to direct education and control Industry.

*INCENTIVES IN THE NEW INDUSTRIAL ORDER: by J. A. Hobson. Parsons, London, 1922. (4/6.) POST INDUSTRIALISM: by Arthur T. Penty. Allen & Unwin, Dec., 1921. (6/-.)

In this book Mr. Hobson successfully counters the argument that public ownership and representative government in industry would break down for lack of incentives to "business men" by restricting it within a narrow field and allowing the "leviathans of business" plenty of scope for their predatory and other talents in other directions, while pointing out that men of sufficient ability to run established businesses might well be appealed to by the rewards available in distinction as well as in money.

His whole argument is on this unambitious and somewhat uninspiring level. The book is a reflective consideration of the effects likely to be produced by changes in a certain direction (*i.e.*, towards a "democratising" of the workshop) and a moderate defence on reasonable grounds of such changes. It appears to assume that on the whole our machine industry will continue in its present course and that the world we know, the environment of that industry, will continue to be "industrialised" on an everlarger scale without much change. There is, however, a statement on page 111 already quoted, that Guild ownership and management is likely to prevail in certain trades where machine production is not the dominant factor. Here is a recognition of the importance of the element in the situation produced by the machine as we know it, though there is no consideration of the possibility of different types of machine having different reactions. In short, the book does not contemplate any possibility of a revolt against the machine in any form, however anti-social its results, but assumes that men's motives and conduct are so "reasonable" that they will accept what appear to be fundamental conditions and only try to make the best of them.

BUT is not the opposite case nearer reality? Is it not true that men in our competitive world do not try to make the best collectively of their given conditions for the community but are engaged either in getting what they can out of them individually, or in furthering some attempt at such an alteration of them as appeals to their imagination and desires? It would appear then that only by kindling that imagination and stimulating those desires can we effect any change in conditions. Only by socialising these desires and inspiring that imagination with a vision of a better world can we bring about a change that will be advantageous, on condition that we add to the vision that leads men on to the end to be attained, rational consideration of the means best fitted to attain it. Realising this prime necessity for inspiration, Mr. Penty seeks it in the middle ages, the pre-industrial period. He says with equal truth and clearness, "It is a paradox but nevertheless true that we can only go forward to a Golden Age in the future on the assumption that we appeal to a Golden Age in the past." Both as a Christian and as a thinker he puts spiritual values in the foremost place and at the same time he demands that these shall express themselves in bodily form in the world. "It is open to us," he says, "to revive our old historic past, our social and industrial past when there was a peasantry on the soil and craftsmen in the workshop, when things produced were beautiful and when organised in Guilds men lived a corporate life, when in short England was truly Merrie England."

MR. PENTY would work towards this ideal by propaganda and by action in certain practical directions. He would train the unemployed for agriculture and handicraft, thus doing something to meet the problem of diminishing markets abroad. He points out that our industrial system is at all times wasteful, involving as it does great inroads on the irreplaceable material treasures of the earth, and at the present time precarious. His view is that we shall be forced to a revival of agriculture through which a foundation will be laid which will enable a social future to be rebuilt that will be

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permanent and stable. His main quarrel is with machine industry and the sub-division of labour it involves—he further looks on it as involving “the investment and re-investment of surplus wealth for further increase,” and this increase he sees as ultimately producing an economic deadlock. Starting from a very different point of view he yet comes to an agreement with Mr. Hobson on this question of under-consumption, but in Mr. Penty’s view under-consumption is the necessary result of the habit of mind engendered by our industrial system.

THE book, as the quotations given show, is full of original and wise sayings, and like all Mr. Penty’s work is well worth reading, though it may be doubted by many readers how far the case against the use of machinery can be made good in an already industrialised country with a population dependant on the sale of its products. If our markets are indeed vanishing most of us, it may be said, must be doomed to perish with them, and we can hardly be expected to antedate that result voluntarily! On the other hand, more food might be grown in England and the difficulties caused by foreign exchanges might be met and surmounted. At least Mr. Penty’s book gives us reason to pause and consider how far we can consider the “new industrial order” as depicted by Mr. Hobson, to be on the one hand a considerable advance on present conditions, and on the other to be likely to meet the pressing problems of the near future.

S.B.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION: by H. W. Wolff. Selwyn and Blount, 1921.

MR. HENRY W. WOLFF has been for many years an authority upon some phases of agricultural organisation and an exponent of common-sense views on rural reform. This book, like its forerunner of the previous year, *THE FUTURE OF OUR AGRICULTURE*, shows his continued interest and an extension of his studies. Indeed, the feature of Mr. Wolff’s recent works on reform of rural organisation has been their encyclopedic character and their catholicity. He, at any rate, is not to be confounded by the suggestion that the problems of rural life are mainly of a technological nature. Sir Horace Plunkett’s slogan (and formula) was “Better business, better farming, better living.” This, it appears, would be modified by Mr. Wolff, by giving education precedence to any of those three factors. This marks an advance on the period of some of his previous work, for then, as an ardent co-operator, he was stressing the importance of business organisation. But unfortunately the influence of Mr. Wolff’s work is restricted by two factors. In the first place it always appears that he has a much more intimate knowledge of agriculture and rural life on the Continent than in this country, and in the second his literary style is not one which appeals to agriculturists or rural reformers, or perhaps to many Englishmen in general. Other people, having Mr. Wolff’s knowledge and different methods of presenting it, would have made much more effective use of it. But had Mr. Wolff’s energies been devoted to the production of some of his varied knowledge of the rural life of the Continent in a connected form he would have held a much more influential position amongst the *intelligentsia* of the rural reform movement in this country than is at present the case. In that event it would have been possible for him to present the facts about the economic organisation of agriculture and social organisation of village life in other countries in their proper setting. At present one feels that facts and deductions from facts are taken from one country or another and applied to British conditions

without making due allowance for differences in the characteristics of the people or in general social environment. Here and there throughout this book Mr. Wolff fails to do justice to those who are making progress in this country, through lack of knowledge of their efforts. Ardent reformers cannot commit a greater error than to show that they are ignorant of the work which is already being done upon the lines of action which they suggest or demand should be followed. There is a clear example of this in the chapter on "Teaching the Cultivators," for here Mr. Wolff deals with the methods of supplying information direct to farmers in most of the Western countries, but fails to mention our own system. A foreigner might be led to the conclusion that we had no organisation similar to that of the American "county agent," but in many of our English counties we have a system nearly as good as the best American, and quite as good as most of the Continental systems. The people who are responsible for our own system of agricultural information and advice want all the suggestion and kindly criticism that can be given, but such a chapter ignores their real problems. The time has gone when it was possible to hold the organisation of English agriculture to obloquy by comparison with foreign systems. We now know, better than we did, the advantages and disadvantages of both, and the reasons why we continue with our own are, on the whole, quite sound and practical. Still, if the sociologist will read this book with a knowledge of English systems gained from other sources he will obtain a valuable comparative view of many problems.

THE chapter on "Training for Country Life" is based on the assumption that there is a "rural" child and that the rural population is and will always remain different from that of the towns. The rural child has a "rural" temperament, which should be preserved, and therefore the child should be fed with "rural pabulum," says Mr. Wolff, but there is no more dangerous doctrine than this in the whole field of sociology. In a country like our own, study should be directed to the discovery and measurement of mental differences between town and country peoples and to reasons why these should be retained, removed, or developed. The mental characteristics of our country population may in time prove to be the weakest or the strongest point in our social armour, but no one could say now, with reason rather than emotional certainty, which discovery will be made. But, again, Mr. Wolff is unaware of some problems in English rural education, or is content to ignore them.

THE chapter on "Labour" is dominated by an individualist and "thrift" philosophy. Its temper is well illustrated by the statement that the late system of regulating wages and conditions of labour was "ineptly conceived, and irritatingly framed, and to a considerable extent in direct opposition to common sense." Yet that system was in essence and effect one of legal enforcement of mutual agreements between employees and employers, in which due allowance was made for the public interest in conditions of labour. Also the employers accepted the system with a *quid pro quo* and the workers accepted it gladly.

THE chapter on "Rural Industries" is worthy of study by all who are interested in this subject, but again the English tradition must be considered in connection with Continental experiences. Other chapters deal with Co-operation, Business Methods, &c. That on "Woman's Part in the Work" should be read in conjunction with M. Paul Vuyet's "Place of Woman in Rural Economy."

THIS is a very stimulating and suggestive book, but had it more of an English temper and bias it would have a greater appeal for English readers, while

foreign readers may take from it quite an ill-formed impression of English agriculture and rural life, and their future prospects.

THERE is room for a comparative or sociological study of the organisation of the agricultural industry, and of village life, but it should be carried on in a methodical way, treating general environment, perhaps even recent history, with the facts relating to the subjects, treating each country in the meantime on an equal moral basis. The study could not be made of value by a person who started with a bias in favour of or against the existing system in any country; and one who started without a bias would discover that each country had lessons to teach the others, or that the system of every country has its own peculiar advantages—especially to its own people.

A. W. ASHBY.

SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE.

WHAT has the sociologist to say of the perplexing situation in which our world finds itself to-day? Has he any reasonable interpretation to offer, of the present imbroglio, in terms of those historic antecedents, social propensities, and organic impulses, which determine our current habits of mind? And next, admitting an approximately true diagnosis of the prevalent malady of our civilization by the sociological physician, has he any line of remedy to propose, which is informed by science, and also capable of appealing to the plain-man as a commonsense course of treatment?

In response to a challenge of this order from the Editors of the BEACON—that most vigorous and illuminating of post-war magazines—a series of popular sociological expositions, or, as they might be called, PAPERS FOR THE PEOPLE has been designed by the senior Editor of the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. Some idea of their scope and aims may be gathered from the following titles adopted for representative specimens of the projected PAPERS. The series begins with a paper entitled RIVAL ECONOMIES AND THEIR LIFE-VALUES. It includes others under the following titles:—THE MALADY OF THE MODERN MIND; FROM TRADE-UNIONIST TO STUDENT-CITIZEN; and GUILD, UNIVERSITY AND CITY.

THE first of these papers on current social evolution will appear in the January issue of the BEACON. For the information of those not acquainted with this journal, written largely by and for men tried in the furnace of the war and found resistant to the temptation of disillusionment, it may be stated the BEACON is a monthly magazine devoted to the fashioning of a finer vision of life for the coming times. Now in its second year, it is edited by E. R. Appleton, assisted by Captain W. Wadsworth, M.C., and Captain Ivor McClure, D.S.O. It is published by Allen and Unwin, Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, London, W.C. 1, and the annual subscription is £1 post free. (*See enclosed leaflet*).

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE WORLD-STORY OF 3,000,000,000 YEARS: by J. Reeves (former Research Scholar in Biology, Royal College of Science), with a Foreword by Professor J. Arthur Thomson. London: P. S. King & Son Ltd., Orchard House, 2 & 4, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, 1922.

THERE has long been wanted a simple graphic presentation of what men of science may be supposed to mean when they use the word Evolution in its widest sense. Mr. J. Reeves has made an admirable first attempt to supply the need. This he has done in a series of charts published in Atlas-like form by Messrs. P. S. King, at the modest price of half-a-crown. An hour or two spent over the scanning of these thirteen pages of charts brings into the mind a cinematograph-like series of pictures of the evolutionary drama, as seen and presented successively by Astronomer, Geologist, Anthropologist, and Historian, with suggestions also by Economist, Psychologist and Sociologist. Mr. Reeves' Atlas of Man and his World, should be in constant use in every school and college. It should be given an accessible place in the personal library of everyone who desires perspective in his thought and reading. In future editions (of which many may be predicted), points of detail will doubtless be improved and supplemented. In his sociological reference, for instance, the author might seek the counsel of those who could advise him better as to post-Spencerian developments, inadequately represented by the two names he singles out, viz.: Ward and Wundt. But this is a trifling blemish in a magistral work. In Mr. Reeves' reference to Museums (an excellent feature of his book), the remarkable presentation of the evolutionary drama in the Haslemere Museum should be mentioned. Sir Jonathan Hutchinson's original design and scheme has not been kept quite up-to-date, but, so far as the present writer knows, it still stands (though dating back a generation or more) ahead of all others in this country, for its parallel pictures of man and nature engaged in a joint evolutionary process.

AGAIN, Mr. H. J. Peake's presentation of world evolution and human development in the Newbury Museum, would draw visitors from other places, and so spread its influence, if it were better known. Another suggestion may be made. It is that Mr. Reeves should ask leave of Messrs. Chambers to reprint, as introduction to future editions of his Atlas, the short article on Evolution in Chambers' Encyclopædia. It is perhaps without rival for a general view of the evolution-process, in respect of brevity, clarity, range, and philosophic insight; at every point of its handling it displays a master touch which makes the dry bones of science live and throb with reality; in a word, it is precisely what the formalism of a graphic presentation, so admirably achieved by Mr. Reeves, needs to attain the vividness of a truly dramatic appeal. Anyhow those who wish to make the best of the Atlas will turn up the Encyclopædia article and read it again and again, before and after using the Atlas. And those who would fill out the body of the Encyclopædia article will turn to the Atlas again and again. By their joint aid, the student of evolution is furnished with a conspectus of his subject, of a kind rare in any domain of knowledge. V.B.

THE STATE AND GOVERNMENT, by James Quayle Dealey, Ph.D., 1921. xiv. + 409. Appleton and Co. (15s.)

A TEXT BOOK of political science from the sociological standpoint has long been needed and Professor Dealey has endeavoured to supply this, and to indicate in his book, "the socio-economic and intellectual factors which

determine variations in government." His "State and Government" is an expansion of a previous work, "The Development of the State." Part I. traces the development of the State and the modern functions of government; Part II. describes modern differentiated governmental organisations and the problems arising therefrom.

THE development of the community through its four so-called stages is clearly described, but does this account for the conception of the primary essential of the state as the possession of absolute supremacy over all other institutions? This supremacy we are told "must not be interpreted in the sense of partial supremacy. Sovereignty implies absolute supremacy. A State must be entirely free from the domination of bodies politic external to itself and completely supreme within its own borders." Yet Professor Dealey admits on the next page that "this is mere camouflage in international relations."

It is a quick transition after this brief discussion of sovereignty to pass to an enumeration of the modern functions of the state. One is left somewhat suspended in the air. A brief history of this idea is needed to give background to it and bring out its implications, as well as furnishing some objections to this idea. Thus Professor Dealey is somewhat inclined to exaggerate the dependence of the Church on the State in the Middle Ages instead of considering them as dual powers, each sovereign with its own sphere. "THE STATE," says Professor Dealey, "is an aspect of society," but we do not feel that he has brought this out fully, that he has shown the varying opinions concerning the sphere of the state, each leaving its impress upon political thought.

PART II. is more satisfactory. It gives a clear account of modern governments with their innumerable departments, of law, of the legislative political parties and the growth of democracy. We should agree that "the ballot, in the hands of an intelligent electorate, is an Aladdin's lamp which rightly used would lay at its feet the social treasures of the world." The difficulties in the path are too apt to be ignored. Would not a chapter on the Art of Government, on the catchwords which have such an effect upon the electorate, have made the reader better able to appreciate the psychological difficulties which stand in the way of the attainment of a real democracy?

A. SMITH.

HUMAN TRAITS AND THEIR SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE: by Irwin Edman, Ph.D. Constable, 1922.

PROFESSOR EDMAN'S book is designed to demonstrate the part played by psychological processes in the building up of our common group life. To trace fundamental processes from their appearance in simple biological reactions through individual adjustments to society, and thence onward to the life of Reason as shown in Art, Science and Morality, is no mean task to have undertaken in the space of 400 pages. But the author has a happy genius for quotation, with which the book is most liberally sown, and this does a great deal to expand the text which is all too brief for so wide a subject, an expansion, however, that takes place mainly within the mind of the reader by directly stimulating the growth of ideas that may not have sprung from the text alone.

THE book is divided into two Parts. Part I. is concerned with Social Psychology strictly, following the vicissitudes of man's native tendencies, instincts, habits and emotions as they become modified, distorted and suppressed in order to meet the demands of changing environment and particularly of group life. But one feels all along that the writer has not made enough of the processes of modification nor of the fact that this very process

of modification produces over compensations in other directions, sometimes giving rise to a complete reversal of individual traits and even of social usages. In fact the second half of the book would grow more naturally out of the first had this deeper analysis been made. Part II. deals with the career of the Reason, and in this activity of the mind, Prof. Edman places those higher manifestations of individual and group psychology, Religion, Art, Science, Morality. While going back to Man's native equipment for an adequate explanation of the emergence of these higher activities, the author quite excusably turns philosopher and invokes other categories than purely psychological ones. With this we do not and cannot quarrel, seeing that it is definitely stated in the Preface that this section of the book is intended as an introduction to a Philosophy of Civilisation.

PROFESSOR EDMAN has attempted a big task in covering so wide a field, and he has produced a series of lectures that stimulate thought on almost every page. That in itself is no small measure of success. E.M.

AZANDE. Introduction à une Ethnographie générale des Bassins de l'Ubangi-Uele et de l'Aruwimi, by A. de Calonne-Beaufaict. Brussels, 1921.

THIS book contains the results of the final researches of M. de Calonne-Beaufaict in the Belgian Congo, and deals with the Azande tribes of the Uele River Basin. Owing to the premature death of the author in 1915, the material has been collected from his notes by Colonel Bertrand, and is unfortunately very incomplete, especially as regards sociology, the greater part being concerned with the history of the Azande and their successive invasions.

PERHAPS the chief interest of the work lies in the study of the remarkable feudal system of the Azandes, and its influence upon their history and character. A nation of semi-migratory warriors and agriculturists, despising arts and industries, and ignoring pasturage, they are distinguished by the homogeneity of their social organisation: a closer examination, however, reveals an extraordinary mixture of ethnic types due to the absorption of other tribes by conquest. Azande settlements consisting of scattered family dwellings are loosely associated under the sway of the chief, who exercises his authority through selected members of an hereditary nobility, while all the young boys are taken from their homes to form the bodyguard of the chief or nobles until marriage. The seclusion of the women, the isolation of the settlements, and the convergence of almost all roads upon the chiefly residence produces centralisation of government, and the uniform education of the youths in tribal tradition conserves the homogeneity of the Azande culture. On the other hand, the attenuated position of the hamlets involves a loose attachment to the central authority, which in the absence of written means of communication leads to feuds for supremacy among the big vassals, and has brought about the ruin of all the successive Azande dynasties. The peculiar power of assimilation possessed by these people is shewn in their relations with vanquished tribes, whom they absorb within a couple of generations, the youths of the conquered peoples being educated with those of the victors, and their warriors participating in the next Azande conquest.

THIS type of society must of necessity thrive on military expansion and absorption of other tribes, while peace stunts its characteristic qualities and stops its development; as a durable empire it disintegrates and falls to pieces. It may be noted that the author attributes the military programme of the chiefs to the "*mentalité dynamique*" of the Azande and not to such causes as lack of food, over-population or external pressure to which such migrations are so often ascribed.

INCLUDED in the fragmentary account of other Azande customs is a brief description of totemism. According to M. de Calonne-Beaufaict, the so-called totemic clans represent the various conquered tribes, and thus form a zoolatry which is in reality a social label, for the group has the appearance of true totemism. Unfortunately the information at our disposal is too meagre for this theory to be worked out, and it is much to be regretted that the author did not live to deal adequately with this and kindred aspects of Azande sociology.

R. L. B. Moss.

THE WELSH HOUSING AND DEVELOPMENT YEAR BOOK, 1921: Edited by D. Lleufer Thomas. Welsh Housing and Development Association, Cardiff. (1s. 6d. net.) THE WELSH HOUSING AND DEVELOPMENT YEAR BOOK, 1922. Welsh Housing and Development Association, Cardiff. (2s. net.)

WHEN arriving in Wales from London I am always conscious of a curious sense of freedom; a weight has been lifted from me, and I breathe an invigorating, hopeful air. Human affairs seem younger, fresher, more lively than in London; I ask myself "Was it thus at the great times in history?"

THE two volumes under review are a product of this healthy atmosphere, which seems to permeate them and give them character. Together they exhibit a most interesting view of the housing question as it shows itself to progressive Welshmen to-day. They are remarkable for the broad view of the housing question and of housing policy which they embody. The problems of house construction and house repair are not neglected, but the emphasis throughout is on civic design, and on regional survey as a necessary preparation for it. Both town planning and architecture receive full consideration on their technical and on their social side. The treatment of technical problems, such as smoke abatement, is supplemented by consideration of such industrial developments as the Guild Movement in Building. It is clear that with the intelligent and purposeful backing which the Welsh Housing and Development Association is providing, the solution of the housing problem in Wales, particularly in the South Wales Coalfields, is finally assured.

A.F.

SOCIOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF OBJECTIVES IN EDUCATION: by David Snedden. 322 pp. J. B. Lippincott Co., 1921.

EDUCATION is a social process. It is, moreover, one of the very few such processes in which very definite means are consciously adopted—and paid for—with certain ends in view. Professor Snedden's book is an attempt to apply the methods and results of sociological study, firstly, to the determination of educational aims, and secondly, to the elaboration of the means by which these aims are to be realised. The book is stimulating, often even provocative. If the author at times fails to carry conviction the fault may perhaps lie with the English reader, all too ready to stiffen in the face of American "punch" in print.

IN more detail, the purpose of the book is to ask a variety of questions which, we are told, must be answered by sociologists and educators before we can justifiably claim to possess a science of education. Our present aims and methods are matters of faith rather than of knowledge. Standards by which to appraise them must be sought in the social sciences and in experience.

New objectives, new purposes, must be elaborated in the light of the knowledge so obtained. This necessitates, in the first place, the elaboration of satisfactory analyses of the values of the various elements in social life. In the absence of any generally accepted analysis the author, in effect, adopts one of his own. His educational prescriptions must be read in the light of his sociological theory, and there seems to be something lacking both in the diagnosis and in the recipe offered.

WRITERS on sociology, we are told, still slip constantly into the methods and language of speculative philosophy. This the author does not do. He is objective, analytic. In particular, the American controversy on vocational education, though it is mentioned but incidentally, seems to dominate the book. Economics and sociology become almost synonymous, and economics is a very materialistic, matter-of-fact science.

THE book offers many suggestive ideas. The consideration of each individual as at once a consumer of many goods and services, and as a producer in one specialised direction, gives rise to an interesting differentiation in curricula. For example, there is consumers' mathematics which we all need, producers' mathematics dependent upon our vocation. Art is given but a lowly place in our modern social economy. Dr. Snedden maintains that an examination of those forms of social activity which are most ultimately involved in the survival and expansion of civilised society will shew an increasing dependence upon the "helpings" or inspirations of science as contrasted with those of art. Again, instruction in civics must be based upon a social diagnosis of the needs of various classes in the community, and will vary accordingly. These are but a few of many suggestions which arrest the attention.

THE defects of the book are perhaps three. There is an undue emphasis on the material as contrasted with moral or spiritual factors. Little attention is given to the development of a motivating agent to moral endeavour. Secondly, the book is written in the present and future tenses. The past is a back number. It is. Yet social systems are the products of growth, not of manufacture, and one who legislates educationally for the future without due consideration of the past may all unwittingly be adopting the methods, if not the language, of "speculative philosophy." Lastly, the psychological aspect of the sociological and educational problems of which the book treats is somewhat neglected. If most modern writers are correct in the importance they attach to an integral curriculum with a strong central interest "core," and if the results of recent psychological investigation—as summarised in, say, Dr. Garnett's "Education and World Citizenship"—are accepted, then both Dr. Snedden's aims and his curricula need very considerable revision.

W. I. MOORE.

INSTINCT AND THE UNCONSCIOUS: by W. H. R. Rivers.
Cambridge University Press, 1922.

THIS is the second edition of Dr. Rivers' Book, which has already had a wide circulation. The first edition was reviewed in our issue of April, 1921. The second is substantially the same book; a few minor changes have been made and two new appendices have been added (VII. PSYCHOLOGY AND THE WAR. VIII. THE INSTINCT OF ACQUISITION). It is impossible to peruse the book without keen regret for the loss of the author's great talents to the sciences of psychology and sociology.

A. F.

THOUGHTS ON WAR AND PEACE. An Inquiry into the Conceptions Prevailing in Foreign Politics, by Nicholas Petrescu. Watts, London, 1921. (5s. net.)

THIS book contains a series of thoughtful earnest enquiries and reflections on the ideas which lie at the root of international politics. The discussion throughout is entirely abstract, and it does not appear that many of the points made are novel in themselves. There are no doubt stages in the history of every mind when enquiries of this character are important: yet one must question the wisdom of not giving weight to those more instinctive, less rational, forces which rule in the international field as elsewhere.

Howell (J. Pryse). AN AGRICULTURAL ATLAS OF WALES. Prepared for the Institute for Research in Agricultural Economics, Oxford, and published by the direction of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries by the Ordnance Survey, Southampton, 1921. (Oblong folio, 5s. net.)

THIS atlas contains twenty-three transparent maps showing the distribution of crops and stocks throughout Wales; it further includes geographical aerographical and rain-fall maps (on white paper) for use under the transparencies. These enable the relation between products and natural conditions to be worked out by each student. The maps are accompanied in every case by statistical tables, figures for the year 1918 being given. On the transparent maps dots distributed more closely or widely are used as the only symbol, and the atlas exhibits clearly the possibilities and advantages of this system of representation. The Agricultural Institute at Oxford, the Ordnance Survey and the other responsible persons are to be congratulated on the production of such a valuable regional atlas which meets the needs of both student and practical man in an admirable way.

WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE EARLY DAYS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT, by J. Bruce Glasier. Longmans, 1921. (6s. 6d. net.)

THIS interesting and spirited volume gives a detailed account of the author's contact with Morris in connection with the Socialist Movement from 1884 to the time of Morris's death in 1896. It also contains estimates of his ideas and work as a socialist pioneer in this country. Some original letters by Morris to the author are printed incidentally. Most readers will perhaps go to the book for the information it contains about the early days of the socialist movement particularly in Scotland, but outside socialists anyone would find the picture it gives of Morris and incidentally of the author very attractive.

THE SOCIAL WORKERS' GUIDE TO THE SERIAL PUBLICATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE SOCIAL AGENCIES. Edited by Elsie M. Rushmore, with an Introduction by F. W. Jenkins. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1921. (\$3.50 net.)

THIS appears to be a systematic and therefore useful account of the publications covered by the title; alphabetical and subject lists of these publications are given. The bulk of the publications mentioned are American. The book will be useful, not only to social workers, but to students of the subjects and movements dealt with.

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No. 5 : REGIONALISM AND ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALISATION IN FRANCE, by R. H. Soltan. No. 6 : ETHNOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF SOCIETY, by B. Malinowski. THE THEORY OF PROGRESS, by M. Ginsberg.

GARDEN CITIES AND TOWN PLANNING : Vol. XII., 1922 : No. 3, March ; No. 4, April ; No. 5, May ; No. 6, June ; No. 7, July-August ; No. 8, September-October.

No. 3 : LONDON SUBURBS—II. RICHMOND, by B. Somerset. No. 5 : LONDON REGION No. 6 : VERONA : THE PLAN OF THE ROMAN CITY, by B. Baron. No. 7 : TOWN-PLANNING IN RUSSIA, by E. de Groër. No. 8 : CONSTANTINOPLE.

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No. 1 : THE GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION, by C. W. Bishop. A MAP OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN SWEDEN, by S. de Geer. No. 2 : PREHISTORIC GEOGRAPHY, by O. G. S. Crawford. THE GEOGRAPHY OF HISTORY : A REVIEW, by Douglas Johnson. No. 3 : URUNDI, TERRITORY AND PEOPLE, by H. L. Shantz. THE DISTRIBUTION OF FUTURE WHITE SETTLEMENT, by Griffith Taylor. No. 4 : THE GEOGRAPHY OF FAIRS, by André Allix. THE POPULATION PROBLEMS, by Raymond Pearl.

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No. 63 : THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE GREEK CITY STATES, by J. L. Myres. No. 64 : INDUSTRIAL CENTRES OF THE PACIFIC COAST, by H. M. Spink.

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MAN : Vol. XXII., 1922 : No. 4, April ; No. 5, May ; No. 6, June ; No. 7, July ; No. 8, August ; No. 9, September ; No. 10, October ; No. 11, November ; No. 12, December.

No. 8 : A REVOLUTIONARY THEORY OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, by Sir R. C. Temple.

MILLGATE MONTHLY : Vol. XVIII., 1922 : No. 205, October ; No. 206, November ; No. 207, December.

No. 205 : THE ROMANCE OF REGIONAL SURVEY, by Bevis Hampton.

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SURVEY : March 11th to November 18th, 1922 ; Graphic Numbers : April to December, 1922.

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